No.298 / JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1998

THE NI NEW INT

Free Wallchart

25 years of ***The New Internationalist***

No hiding place

Human rights – a world report

- **50 years on – the Universal Declaration of Human Rights**
- **Dying of shame: the West's hypocrisy on Iraq**
- **The dictator and the diaper**
- **Hong Kong: the Asian values smokescreen**

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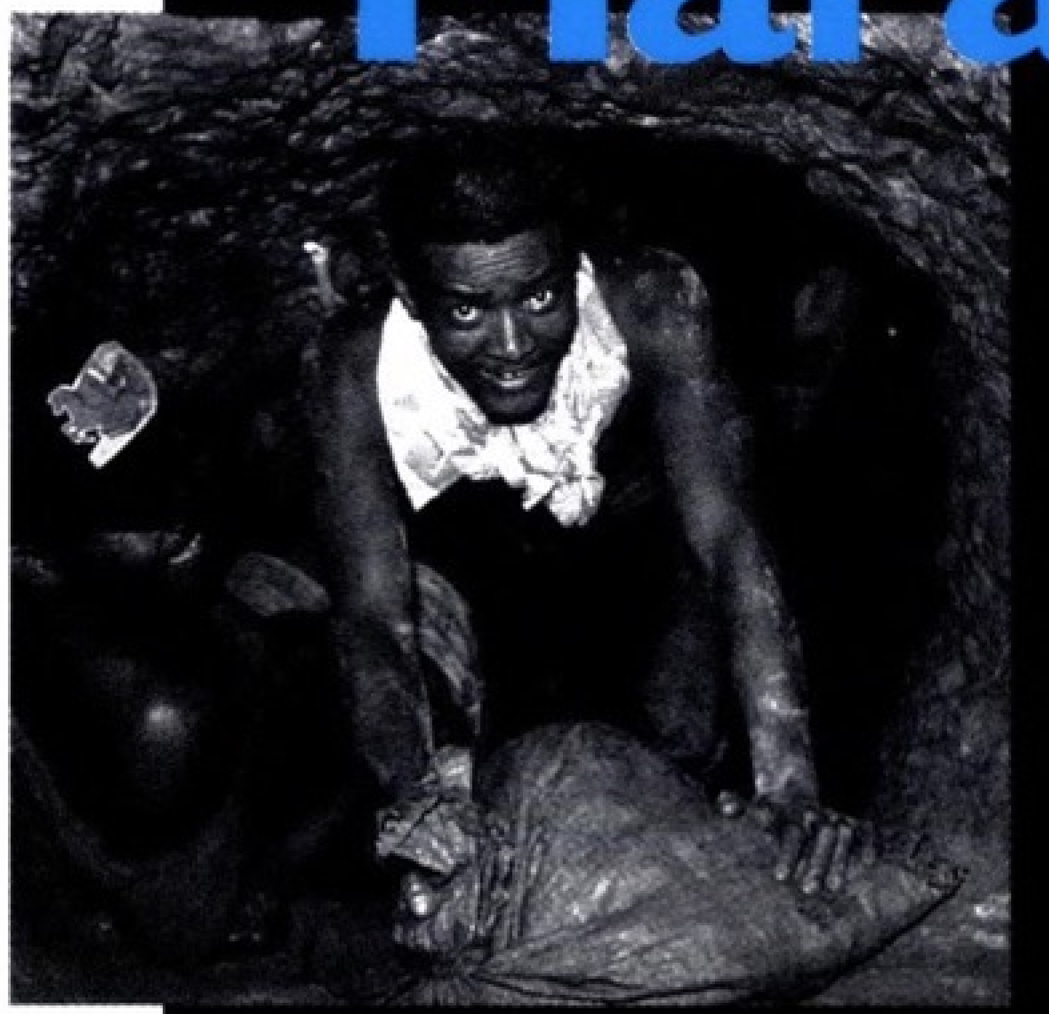
Mining Marathon



MALCOLM WATSON / STILL PICTURES

While the world rushes to grab mineral riches it fails to notice the hole it has dug for itself – irreversible environmental damage, displaced people, not to mention complete dependence on mining companies. This issue of the **NI** unearths the industry's dirt and calls for an end to the world's mining madness.

- ◆ **Doing the dirty work** – sacked miners in Peru turn their hard hats into begging bowls.
- ◆ **Bargain Basement** – how you can spend the world's resources for next to nothing.
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- ◆ **Seeing red** – Aboriginal women stir up the dust over corporate greed.
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UNA-UK

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The New Internationalist exists to report on the issues of world poverty and inequality; to focus attention on the unjust relationship between the powerful and powerless in both rich and poor nations; to debate and campaign for the radical changes necessary within and between those nations if the basic material and spiritual needs of all are to be met; and to bring to life the people, the ideas and the action in the fight for world development.

The **New Internationalist (NI)** magazine was founded by Peter and Lesley Adamson in 1970. Together with a range of other publications it is published by New Internationalist Publications Ltd which is wholly owned by the New Internationalist Trust and co-operatively managed:

Administration: Véronique Szerauc.
Design: Alan Hughes, Andrew Kokotka, Ian Nixon.
Editorial: Vanessa Baird, Chris Brazier, Nikki van der Gaag, David Ransom, Anouk Ride.
Editorial (North America): Wayne Ellwood, Richard Swift.
Magazine circulation: James Rowland.
Magazine marketing: Michael York.
Marketing (North America): Ian McKelvie.
Production: Fran Harvey.
Publications editor: Troth Wells.
Publications marketing: Dexter Tiranti.

The **NI** Website:

http://www.newint.org/

The **NI** is published monthly except that the January and February issues are combined into one bumper issue.

THE NI NEW INTERNATIONALIST

The Independent News Collective is an association of radical and alternative publishers. INK publications cover issues of social, political and personal change, issues which are often neglected by the mainstream media. INK enables its members to cooperate on distribution, marketing and publicity. New Internationalist Magazine is an INK member.

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SUBSCRIPTION OFFICES AND ANNUAL PRICES

UK: PO Box 79, Hertford, SG14 1AQ Tel: (01992) 822899 Fax: (0171) 830 8585 E-mail: subscriptions@newint.org.
Individuals £24.85 p.a.; £6.85 qtly. Institutions £50. Student/Unwaged £14.70 (please telephone for further information).

Republic of Ireland: 9 Upper Fitzwilliam St, FREEPOST, Dublin 2. Tel: (0044) 1708 381222 Fax: (0044) 1708 379562.
Individuals IR £29.85 p.a.; Institutions IR £55 p.a.

Canada: 35 Riviera Dr., Unit 17, Markham, ON L3R 8N4. Tel: (905) 946-0407 Fax: (905) 946-0410. E-mail: magazine@indas.on.ca
Individuals 1 yr – $38.50 (includes GST), in NF, NS, NB $41.38 (includes HST); Institutions 1 yr – $64.20 (includes GST) in NF, NS, NB $69.00 (includes HST); Overseas (by air) 1 yr – $60; GST Reg No R121784854.

United States: PO Box 1143, Lewiston, NY 14092. Tel: (905) 946 0407. Fax: (905) 946 0410. E-mail: magazine@indas.on.ca
Individuals 1 yr – $35.98 Overseas (by air) 1 yr – $60; Institutions 1 yr – $60.

Australia and PNG: 7 Hutt Street, Adelaide, S.A., 5000. Tel: (08) 8232 1563 Fax: (08) 8232 1887.
Individuals A$56.40.

Aotearoa/New Zealand: PO Box 4499, Christchurch. *Individuals $47; Institutions $55 (includes GST).*

South Africa: PO Box 14, Harold Hill, Romford, Essex, RM3 8EQ, UK. Tel: (0044) 1708 381222 Fax: (0044) 1708 379562.

Rest of the World: PO Box 79, Hertford, SG14 1AQ UK. Tel: (0044) or (0) 1992 822899.
Individuals £29.85 p.a.; £8.50 qtly. Institutions £55 p.a. Please pay in sterling by UK Cheque, Eurocheque, Visa, Mastercard or UK Banker's Draft. Despatch by air only.

Editorial and Advertising Offices

Editorial: 55 Rectory Road, Oxford OX4 1BW UK. Tel: (0044) or (0) 1865 728181. Fax: (0044) or (0)1865 793152.
E-mail: ni@newint.org **Advertising:** Tel/Fax: (0044) or (0) 01372 276233.

Canada/US Editorial: 1011 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M6H 1M1. Tel: (416) 588 6478. Fax: (416) 537 6435.
E-mail: nican@web.net **Advertising:** Tel: (902) 421 7022 Fax: (902) 425 0166.

Australia: 7 Hutt Street, Adelaide, S.A. 5000. Tel: (08) 82321563 Fax: (08) 8232 1887. E-mail: brianl@caa.org.au

Print and Distribution

Origination: Graphic Facilities, London UK.

Printed on environmentally friendly paper by Warners Midlands plc, UK.

News trade distributor: COMAG Specialist Division, Mercury Centre, Central Way, Feltham, Middlesex TW14 0RX, UK. Tel: (0044) or (0) 181 844 1000. Fax: (0044) or (0) 181 751 2666.

North America. Publications Contract 101400. Postage Paid at Toronto. Periodicals postage paid at Lewiston, NY. (USPS 329-770) US Post-master: send address changes to: New Internationalist, PO Box 1143, Lewiston, NY 14092.

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Indexed in the Canadian Periodical Index, CPI CD-ROM, CPI Online, the Canadian Magazine Index, CBCA OnDisc and the Alternative Press Index.

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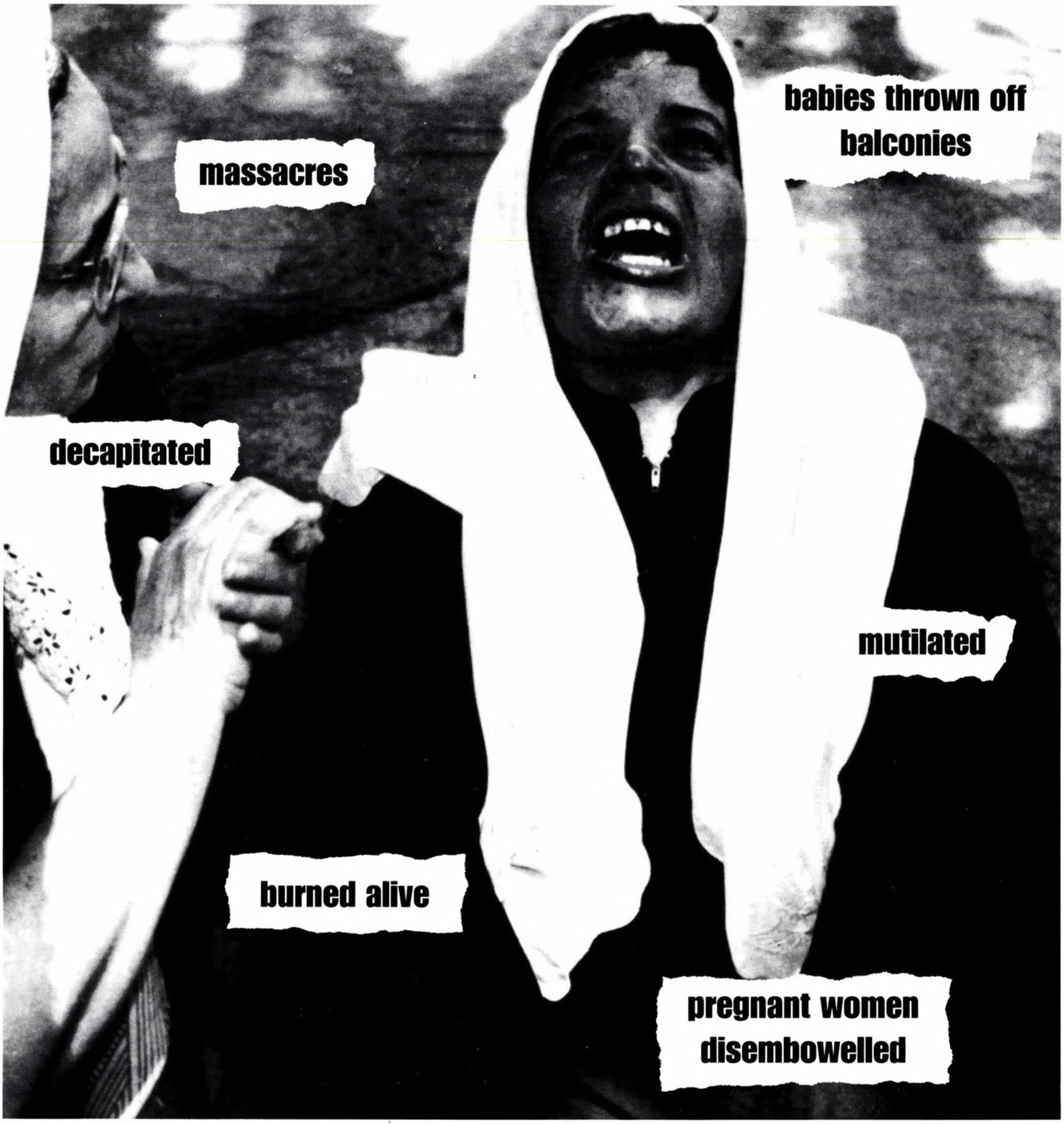
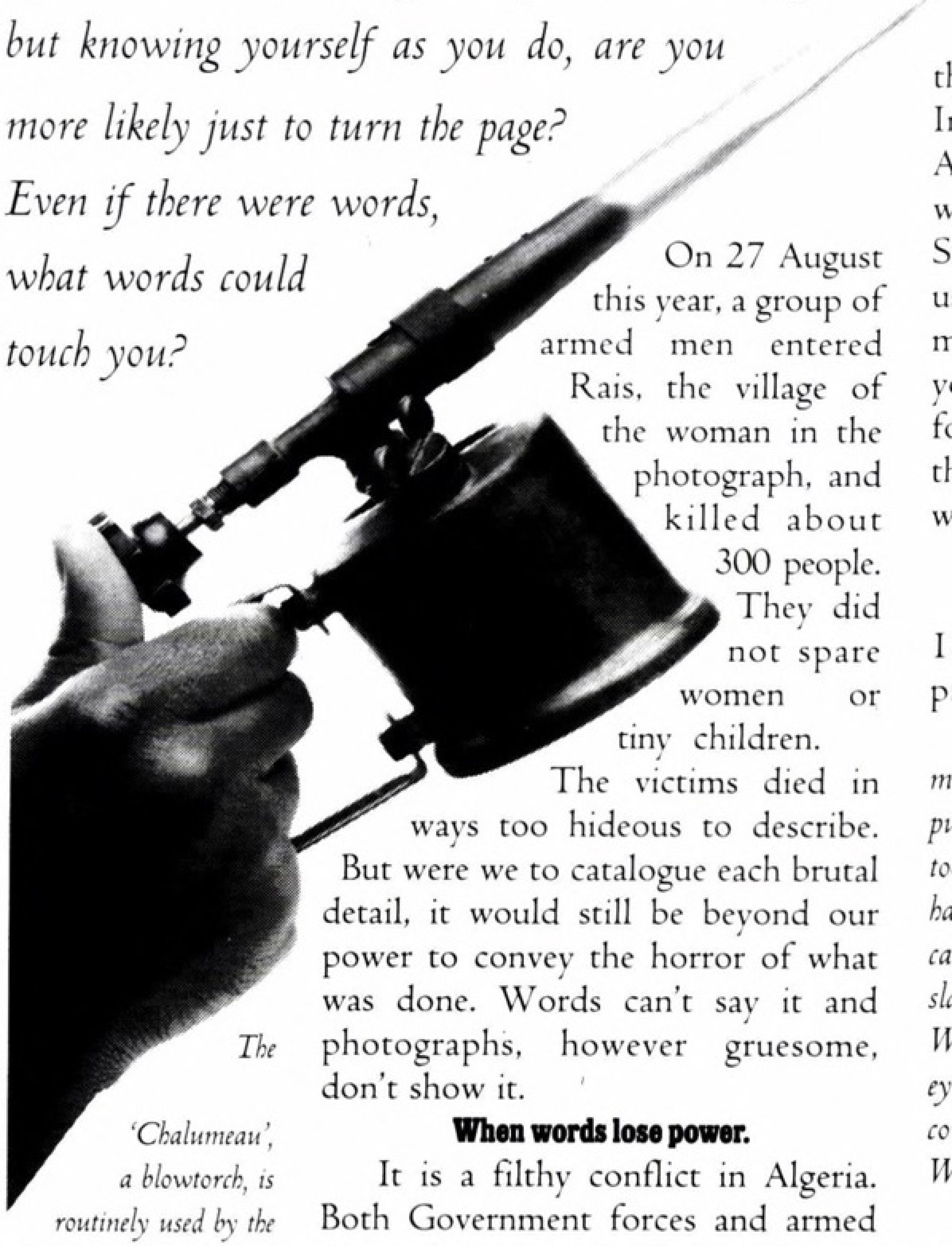

massacres
babies thrown off balconies
decapitated
mutilated
burned alive
pregnant women disembowelled

Write your own bloody headline.

No words – there are no words – to express what this Algerian woman is feeling. In this conflict children are killed in front of their parents, people are blowtorched and made to howl like bagpipes, and ordinary people are caught in horror beyond imagining. You could do something to stop these vile things, but knowing yourself as you do, are you more likely just to turn the page? Even if there were words, what words could touch you?



The 'Chalumeau', a blowtorch, is routinely used by the Algerian security forces to make suspects 'sing'.

Other page: Distraught survior of a massacre carried out at Sidi Rais village by an armed group.

On 27 August this year, a group of armed men entered Rais, the village of the woman in the photograph, and killed about 300 people. They did not spare women or tiny children.

The victims died in ways too hideous to describe. But were we to catalogue each brutal detail, it would still be beyond our power to convey the horror of what was done. Words can't say it and photographs, however gruesome, don't show it.

When words lose power.

It is a filthy conflict in Algeria. Both Government forces and armed groups have committed atrocities.

The Government uses the atrocities to justify its massive repression of human rights, the armed groups use the repression to justify their atrocities.

The woman from Rais got caught in the middle. We don't know what sorrowful loss she suffered, whether she saw her family murdered, her baby dashed to its death, her little daughter disembowelled, her mother's head rolling in the dust.

All of these things have happened, if not to this woman, to others just as uninvolved, helpless and anguished. The words on the picture opposite are taken from the opening paragraph of Amnesty International's latest report on Algeria. We've become used to seeing words like these in our newspapers. Shocking headlines no longer touch us. We're not moved, we resent being manipulated. Experience says that you'll read this page, turn over and forget it, because this is how you, like the rest of us, have learned to cope with the clamour of ads.

Listen to what the children said.

Two children, sisters of 11 and 13, spoke about the night their parents were killed.

"We woke up at the noise; some armed men were hitting father with a shotgun. They pushed father into the kitchen and the others took mum out into the courtyard and tied her hands. They cut her throat. The other men called from inside the house and the one who slaughtered mum shouted: 'Wait I'm finishing'. We pulled mum into the house and closed her eyes and covered her with a blanket, and also covered father; he had also had his throat cut. We cried and screamed."

Reader, wake up. This isn't a game of words. It isn't some clever advertising agency trying to score a 'creative' coup. It's a plea, a big blunt desperate yell, for your help.

You can make a big difference.

We need you. At this very second, even as you are reading this, someone is being murdered, tortured, or made to "disappear". Someone is being thrown in jail without trial. Someone is being raped, someone's child is being killed.

You could do a great deal to help these people. Why won't you?

Is it right to murder, torture, or imprison people for their religion, the colour of their skin or beliefs?

You may say 'no', but unless you stand up for human rights, you might as well say 'yes'.

Amnesty International was founded on the idea that ordinary people *can* make a difference in the world, *can* help to stop murder, torture and other abuse of human rights. Since our foundation in 1961, we have proved over and over and over that we *can* help.

Amnesty is international.

Do you dislike the idea of western liberals laying down the moral law to the rest of the world? Good, so do we. Amnesty International is a worldwide organisation with members in just about every country on earth.

In some places our members risk their lives to stand up for human rights.

And people in that deadly danger are standing up for *your* human rights, whether or not you choose to recognise the fact.

Decades of broken promises.

After the Second World War, the world's nations signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Since then every single one of them has at some time broken its promise to defend and not abuse human rights.

Only one voice in the world is strong enough to force politicians to keep their promises. Yours.

But only you can convince yourself that you want to stand up for other people's human rights.

Are you a do-nothing? Or will you make a difference?

Only you know the answer, only you can find the words, only you can sign your name below.

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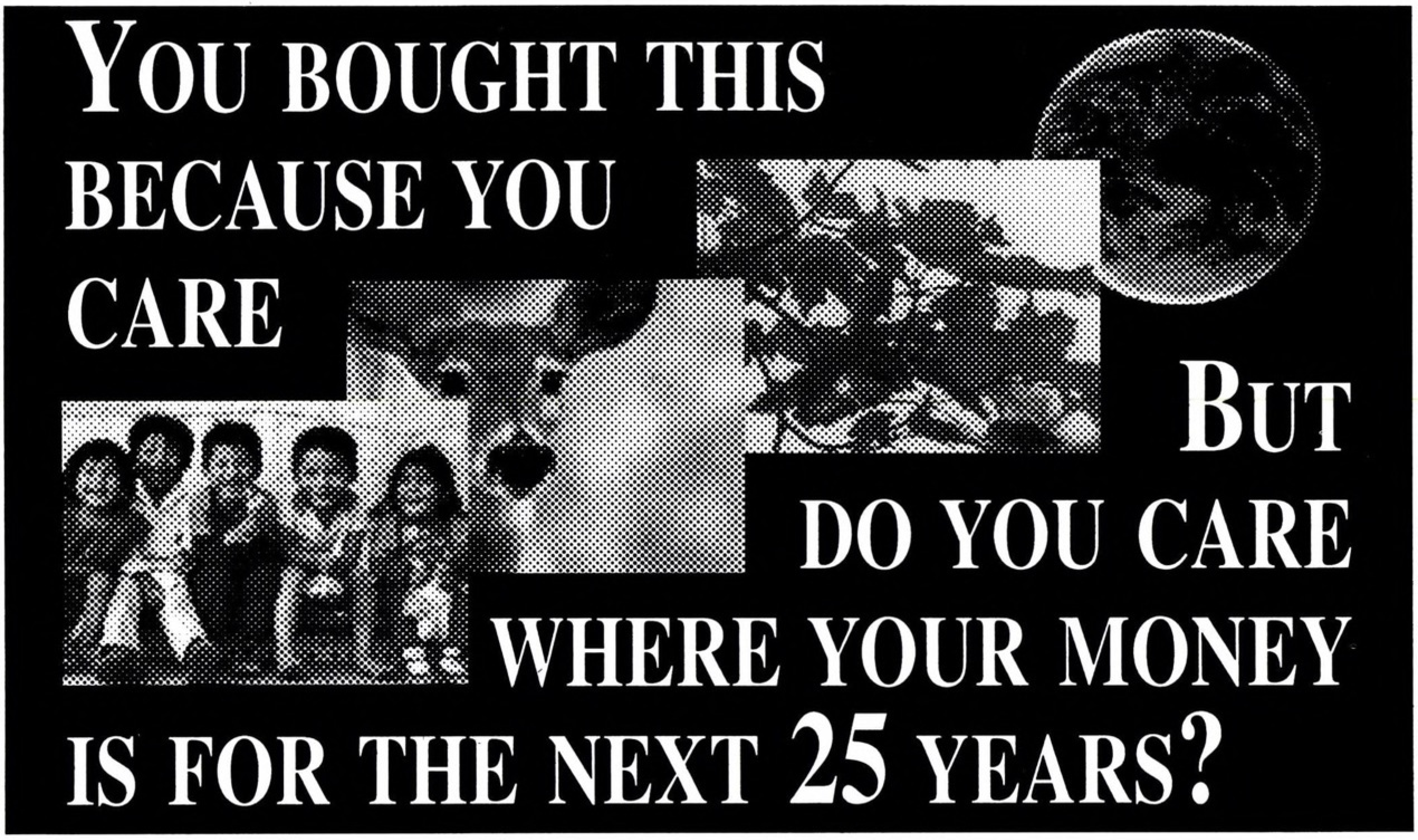

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NEW INTERNATIONALIST No 298

THIS MONTH'S **THEME**

Human rights – a world report

FROM THIS MONTH'S **EDITOR**

THE production of this issue was full of surprises. First, I found myself working in cahoots with a bank. A strange choice for a world report on human rights and an **NI** editor's nightmare, you might think: normally we would be sharpening our pens against the activities of the Majority World's rapacious creditors.

In fact, the bank we were working with prides itself on its ethical stance and is running its own campaign on human rights. It turned out that Jo and Jim from Britain's Co-operative Bank had very much the same ideas as we did on poverty, human rights and social justice. They offered to get their creative agency to design the wallchart on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that you will find inside. It was an unusual collaboration for us but one that we all felt worked really well.

Then there were the consequences of the **NI** turning 25 this year. The old photos that people dug out of their attics caused much hilarity in the office, as some of the original founders are still around or remain well known to us. 'Hasn't he/she changed?' 'Look at their hairstyles/clothes!' Ian, our designer, decided to make the pages written by ex-editor Peter Stalker (*Confessions of a shameless editor*, page 2) look like they came from the 1970s – see what you think!

There was one final surprise in store. I thought I had covered most of the **NI**'s key areas, but at the last minute I had a phonecall from Felicity Arbuthnot, a freelancer who has written for us a number of times. 'You *must* run something on Iraq,' she insisted. 'Around 200 children are dying there every day; not because of drought or famine but because *we* – the West – have imposed sanctions. I'll write something for you over the weekend.' Unusually, her passion and her eloquence – combined with a bit of research elsewhere – convinced me. When her article came in I spent the evening in tears.

The subject of human rights may be the stuff of nightmares rather than dreams; it may provoke tears rather than laughter. But I believe there is room for both. It is a combination that at its best moves us all nearer to a world where justice is finally done.

Nikki van der Gaag

Nikki van der Gaag
for the ***New Internationalist*** *Co-operative*

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IAN MOORE

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MAGAZINE DESIGNED BY **IAN NIXON**. FRONT COVER PHOTOGRAPH BY **JULIO ETCHART.**

NEW INTERNATIONALIST
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Desert dawn
Nightmare in a police state
War & peace in Western Sahara

CONFESSION
A SHAMELE

The New Internationalist celebrates 25 years of publication this year. You would have got long odds in the 1970s against our getting this far. We asked PETER STALKER – who worked for the magazine for more than half its life – to lift the lid on some of the murkier moments in the NI's history.

'What are they saying?' The BBC producer is getting anxious. We are sitting in a field in Honduras alongside a full camera crew, with its meter running, poised to film a *campesino* land invasion and nothing seems to be happening.

'They are debating whether they should go ahead with it,' I reply.

'You mean they might not?' he asks, slightly horrified.

I ask the group when they will decide.

'First we discuss the facts. Then we have the analysis. Then later we have the resolution. Maybe in a few hours. Maybe tomorrow.'

All very democratic. But for us only one answer will do.

'Well,' said the producer, 'if they decide against it we need to find another group that will invade — and quickly. We'll wait here. You go and find a back-up.'

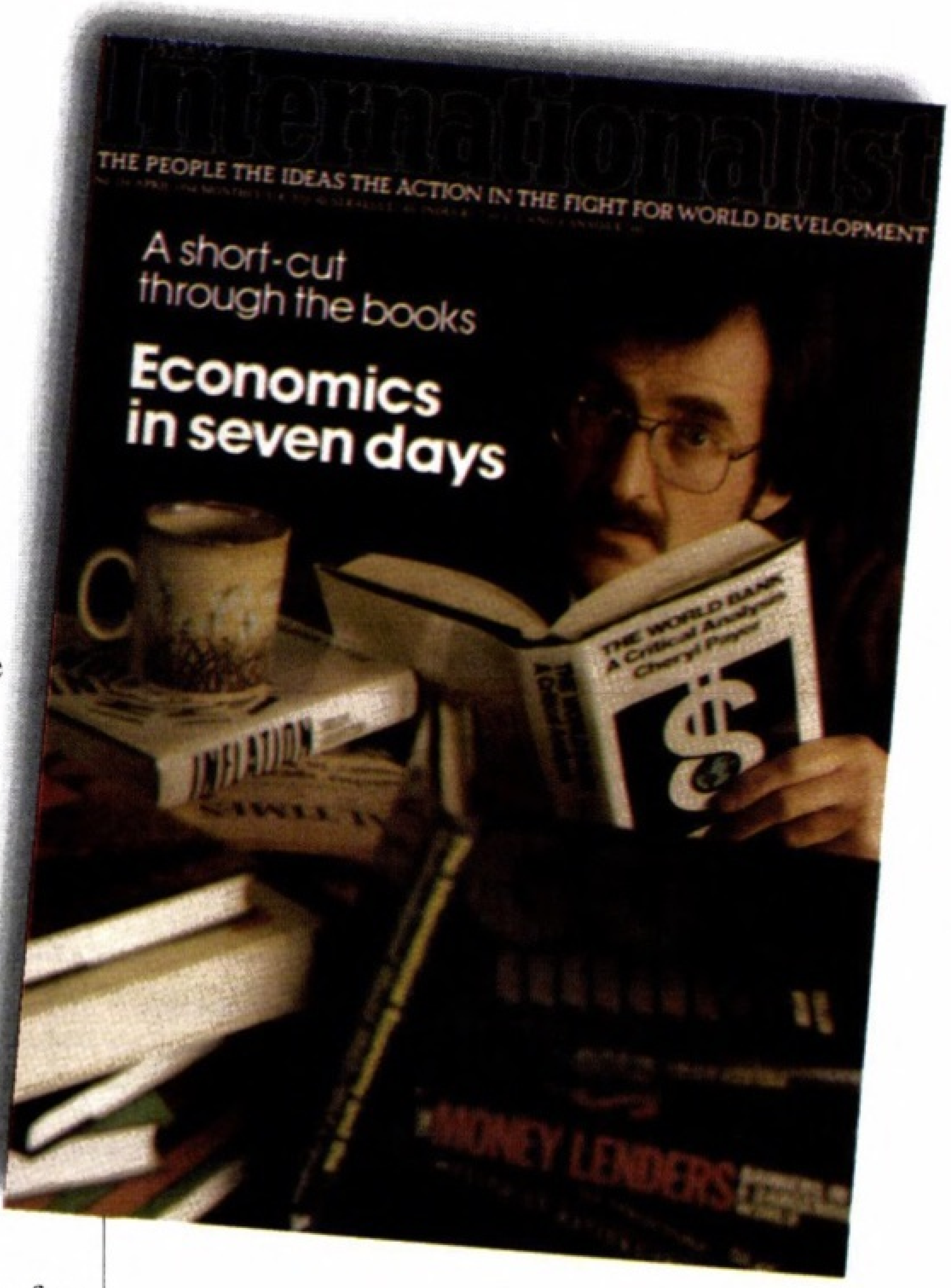
Sitting in Oxfordshire this task had seemed fairly straightforward; I didn't realize it would require me to wander round Central America fomenting insurrections.

The **NI** in its early years (this was 1981) was forever teetering on the brink of a financial precipice. We only scrambled back to safety by attaching our grappling hooks to more secure organizations. In this case we had fixed on the BBC, offering our services as researchers. My task was to find ways of illustrating the inequities of food production and of arguing the case for land reform.

Central America seemed the ideal location. We had reports of peasants farming steep, rocky hillsides trying to grow corn, while rich landowners owned vast lush hectares on the valley floor raising cattle to supply the US with hamburger meat. When I got to Honduras I discovered not only that this was true (bit of a relief) but that some farmers were also taking matters into their own hands through a spate of land invasions, or what they termed *recuperaciones*.

Perfect, I thought. Wouldn't it be great if we could film the action? So I went to one of the *campesino* organizations in Tegucigalpa to check out the prospects. At first, the President of the Campesino Union thought this was a great joke — trying to predict a spontaneous act by the masses. But eventually he concluded that it might actually work. Maybe we could talk to some groups. In fact, he urgently needed to see some of their members the following day around the northern port city of San Pedro Sula. Did I have trans-

S OF SS EDITOR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A short-cut through the books
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THE WORLD BANK A Critical Analysis Cheryl Payer
INFLATION
MONEY LENDERS

port? 'Of course,' I lied, and rushed out to hire a jeep.

To most people's surprise, within a couple of days I did find a group farming a rocky hillside who were just about to seize the fertile land below them — belonging to one Doña Luisa, who was indeed raising cattle. That was very good, but also no good. They needed to do it for the camera. I advised them not to be too hasty. Better think it over. Perhaps wait for a week or two — while I summoned the film crew from London.

So there we all were, waiting. Except for me. I was rushing off again praying I could find the local organizer to see if we could discover another group of potential invaders. Amazingly, we did. It wasn't quite as picturesque as the original spot, and did not fit the stereotype quite so neatly. But yes they would cheerfully do it to camera, especially with a $200 'facilitation fee'. Sure enough, however, when I got back with the news, the original invasion was back on schedule — and went like clockwork (they still have the land). I never did find out what happened to the reserve team. I hope they are not still waiting for me.

One the great advantages of these assignments was that they gave **NI** journalists the chance to see things at first hand. Otherwise, our travel budget was zero and we operated by remote control through a network of correspondents. These might be sympathetic journalists or employees of aid organizations who could be relied upon to write something that fitted our needs. Frequently this would be a description of a particular person or family that would serve to add a bit of colour to the drier theoretical analysis in the rest of the magazine.

Since such profiles would inevitably start with something like: 'Saraswathi tugged anxiously at her blue sari while waiting for her children to come home …' such a piece came to be known within the office as a 'blue sari' job. These proved very popular and were frequently reprinted elsewhere. Indeed we often recycled them ourselves. On one occasion an **NI** editor recycled a particularly apposite one in a pack of press articles that we were preparing for a UN agency (grappling hooks out again). When this pack appeared, another editor was suitably impressed, and assuming that this was a brand new 'blue sari', promptly re-recycled it into a later issue of the **NI**. It took a while for any of us notice this. And as far as I know, no reader ever pointed it out, which all goes to prove… something, I'm sure.

WE WERE STILL BROKE OF COURSE, BUT WE ALWAYS KNEW PRECISELY HOW BROKE WE WERE

While it might look as though the **NI** was the product of energetic journalism and creative design it was as much the result of creative accounting. One of the first things that Peter Adamson, the founding editor and original driving force, did was to recruit an accountant. At that point, few, if any, radical magazines ever considered having a full-time accountant — and I imagine that few do so even now. Eric Rix was the inaugural holder of this stressful office, and his ability to navigate with great aplomb through some very choppy waters, shuffling real and not-so-real funds, did as much as anything to ensure the magazine's survival. We were still broke of course, but we always knew precisely how broke we were.

Heavy on the hair – New Internationalist in 1973. The trio on the left are Peter and Lesley Adamson and Dexter Tiranti

At that point the magazine was based in the village of Benson in Oxfordshire in a house which had rather less planning permission than desirable. I had been allowed to join on the understanding that I would somehow earn my own salary. One night I was doing just that, working with Dexter Tiranti into the small hours on a presentation to be made later that same day to sell our services to a UK-based aid agency. Normally I commuted from nearby Oxford by bus. But at this hour I had to resort to the battered old Morris Minor that we used to transport magazines and marketing leaflets. On the way to Oxford I stopped to give a ride to someone who had run out of petrol. Unsurprisingly, at 2am we could not find a petrol station open and I finished up tearing round Oxford faster and faster, increasingly aware of the need to catch a train in a few hours. Sure enough, there was soon lots of noise on my tail, and flashing blue lights.

'You were going rather fast, sir. What's the hurry? Is this your car? What's the registration number?' 'Er... no... company car... don't know... working late... petrol... etc.'

My passenger (what on earth did he say to them?) made himself scarce. Fifteen minutes later, arrested for car theft, I am in a police cell pacing around minus belt and shoelaces. And all I could think of was how to hold my trousers up and get to London in a couple of hours. Dexter, my partner in this as in many other enterprises, who was woken up to verify my story and get me released, thought this was hilarious. For all the various encounters with sinister military and police figures from Guatemala to Chile to the Philippines, the only time I was actually jailed on the magazine's behalf was for stealing the company car. I was of course scarred for life by this experience.

The **NI** has always struggled to make sense of the world — with greater or lesser success. The process for the writer is straightforward. You admit you are an ignoramus — then go to knowledgeable people, ask them what's going on, and write down a version sufficiently coherent that readers can extract some sense from it. The process is much the same whether you are talking to community leaders in the slums of Delhi, cane cutters in the Philippines, or economics professors in Oxford. It's amazing how patient and forgiving they are if you say you work for the *New Internationalist*.

This means of course you are always a part of the picture — absorbing and filtering the information. And many issues of the **NI** have been deliberately written with the writer as a central actor in the story. I think, however, I can still claim to be quite the most shameless poser of all time.

After years of muddling through thickets of economics jargon, I decided that I should educate myself more systematically. To do this I would write an issue of the **NI** in the form of a conversation with a reader who was supposedly anxious to become economically more literate. I did this by immersing myself in economics books, writing the 'script' and then negotiating the result, line by line, with Peter Donaldson, an old friend of the magazine and an economics lecturer at Ruskin College.

FIFTEEN MINUTES LATER, ARRESTED FOR CAR THEFT, I AM IN A POLICE CELL, PACING AROUND MINUS BELT AND SHOELACES

Onwards and upwards – the NI team celebrates its 200th edition in 1989

But what could we have on the front cover? What about a picture representing that puzzled reader coming to terms with baffling concepts — surrounded by a daunting pile of books. Good idea. But who should it be? Not a young person, since that would be ageist. Not someone from an ethnic minority, since that would imply that as a group they were ignorant. Not a woman, of any race, since that would make it look as though women needed educating by men. On the other hand, the reader couldn't be male either since that would imply that economics was a subject only for men. That seemed to exhaust the options.

Unless... unless... the ignoramus on the front cover was not the reader but the writer who was, after all, paid to act stupid, and in no position to take offence (see cover on previous page).

There's something very **NI** about that process of reasoning. Convoluted, politically correct, and yet by rapid sleight-of-hand producing a plausible solution. I had of course to be dragged kicking and screaming to the photographic studio.

Oh dear. I see the bottom of the page looming, which means now that I have to wrap up with a *final paragraph*. This was always a challenge. But yes, I think it's coming back to me. In times gone by, if the subject of the magazine was ____ , the default final paragraph of the keynote article often went something like this:

"The world's ____ problems remain complex and intractable. But ____ is something that cannot be considered in isolation. At heart, it is an economic issue — and ultimately a political one. Unless and until there is a dramatic transformation in the relationship between rich and poor, both within and between countries, the global ____ crisis will never be solved. Individual communities have already set an example through their own creativity, determination and fortitude. Given the freedom and the opportunity, they have shown they can solve their own ____ problems. Now we have to create new patterns of co-operation which will allow this solidarity to resonate through the global community."

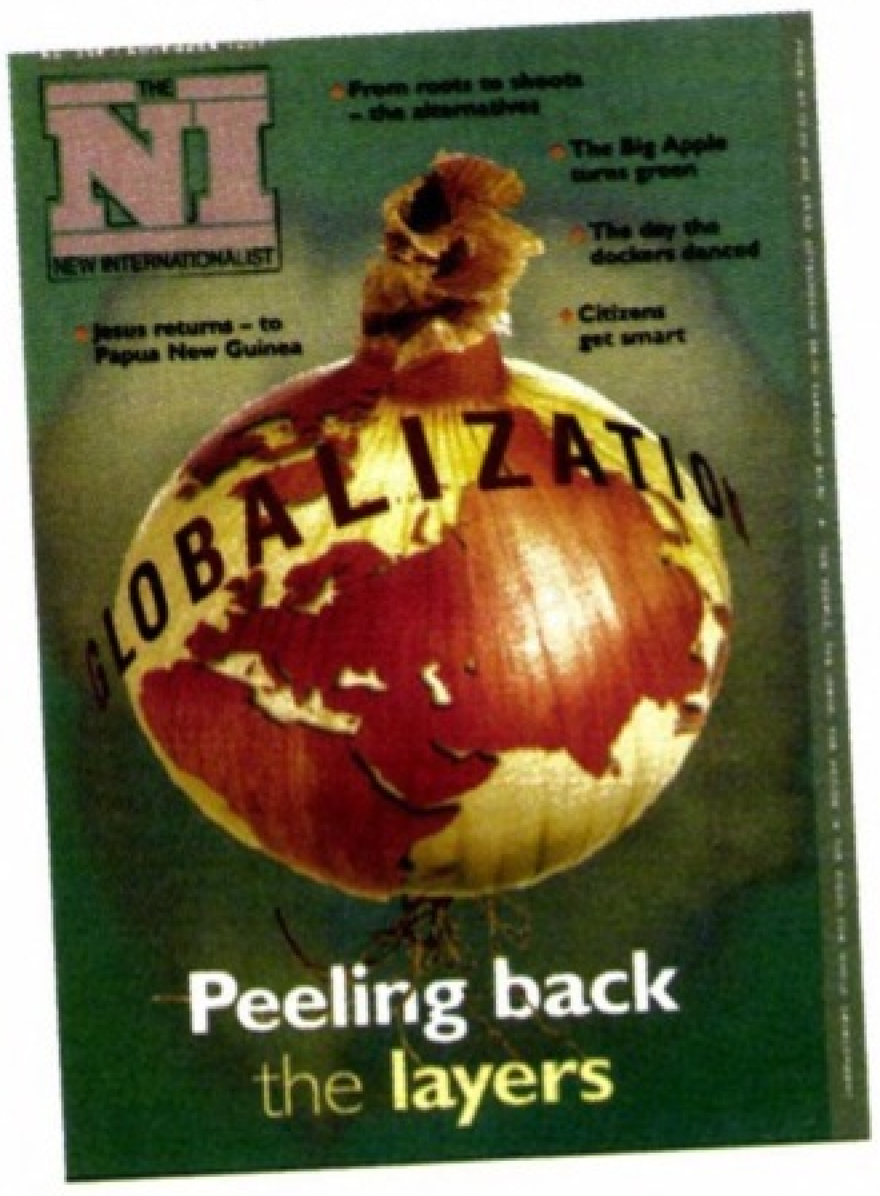
Like riding a bicycle.●

***Peter Stalker** is now a freelance writer. He has edited most of the UNDP's Human Development Reports. His latest book is* Global Nations: The Impact of Globalization on International Migration, *shortly to be published by the International Labour Organization.*

Letters

Bougainville

I was surprised that your article on Papua New Guinea (***Globalization* NI 296**) painted such a rosy picture of relationships between the peoples of those islands. I recently heard the story of Martin Mirori of Bougainville who reported to the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva this year.


THE NI NEW INTERNATIONALIST
From roots to shoots – the alternatives
The Big Apple turns green
The day the dockers danced
Citizens get smart
Jesus returns – to Papua New Guinea
GLOBALIZATION
Peeling back the layers

Bougainville comes under the jurisdiction of the Solomon Islands. Rio Tinto Zinc had opened a copper mine while it was under Australian jurisdiction and the environment was badly polluted. The traditional Bougainville landowners closed the mine in 1988 and the Papua New Guinean army was sent in. Amid the violence 24,000 people lost their homes. To defend themselves, the people formed the Bougainville Revolutionary Army. An interim government was formed which campaigned for self-determination for the Bougainville people.

In 1990 a blockade was imposed to prevent supplies reaching the island and news from getting out. To date it is estimated that 12,000 people (ten per cent of the population) have died as a result of the blockage. In June 1996 a major offensive was launched by Papua New Guinea. Concentration camps were set up on the island, containing 47,000 people in inhuman conditions.

I do hope you will print this letter as *New Internationalist* readers may be unaware (as I was) about this.

Carol Betera
Dublin, Ireland

Ed: We will be covering Bougainville in next month's issue on mining.

The New Internationalist welcomes your letters. But please keep them short. They may be edited for purposes of space or clarity. Include a home telephone number if possible and send your letters to the nearest editorial office. The address and e-mail are inside the front cover.

Reality antidote

I received my first issue of the **NI**. It was TRASH. Well, not really. I found the contents of **NI 295** very high quality indeed. It made me regret I hadn't taken out a subscription long ago.

It has been a long time since I read a magazine cover-to-cover, but **NI** received the treatment. It was like a shot of reality antidote to a poor brain saturated in coke, cars and computers.

Continue to challenge and inform and you'll have a faithful reader.

Neil Maclean
Glasgow, Scotland

A big ask

Are Australians willing to forego the Sydney Olympics so that China can be persuaded to stop trading in landmines? China just missed out on hosting the Olympics. Offer the Games on the understanding that no country trading in mines (**NI 294**) would participate (this would include Russia and the US). Beijing 2000!

Nelson Underdown
Adelaide, Australia

Child focus

Congratulations on your issue on ***Child labour*** (**NI 292**). I would have liked to have seen a focus on the NGOs in the South and their respective funding organizations. It needs to be a lot more widely understood that getting children off the street or out of factories isn't the solution to child labour.

Sadly too many NGOs are more concerned with producing quantitative results than treating the root of the problem. Direct work with children needs to be along the lines of making them aware, socially and politically, of how to change their situation, while opening employment opportunities for families so that children are able to study and have a childhood. Making surrounding people aware that working children deserve respect, that they work because they have to and not because they want to, should be high on the list of any NGO working with street children.

Jennie Gamlin
Mexico City, Mexico

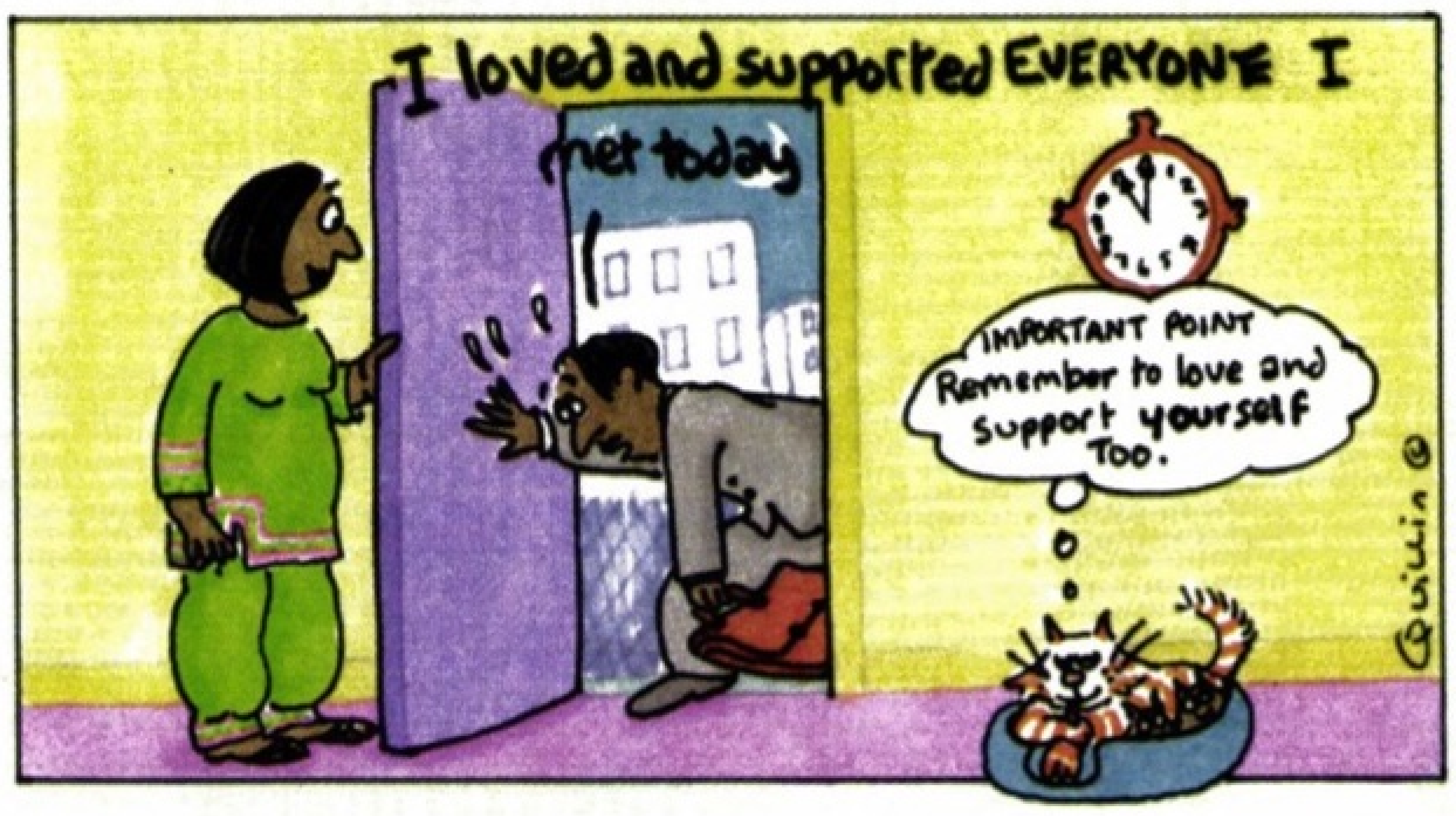
Making a difference

Nancy Scheper-Hughes (**NI 295**) demonstrates precisely why it is so easy to 'dehumanize' others. It is convenient for us to do so. We are unwilling to take responsibility for one another. And then, no doubt, we will feel resentful when there is no-one to take responsibility for us.

Caring for other people – children, aged parents, an ill spouse, the poor living on our streets – is inconvenient. So rather than accept this responsibility, we prefer to turn it over to someone else and convince ourselves there is no other option. Even our feelings of 'guilt' are ways of justifying ourselves in these circumstances.

As long as we cannot care for those we 'love' how can we expect to be able to make a difference in the wider society and world in which we live?

Rick McDaniel
Fredericton, Canada


I loved and supported EVERYONE I met today
IMPORTANT POINT Remember to love and support yourself Too.
Quillin ©

VIV QUILLIN

Ethically dubious

The article on ethics 'Born to be good' (**NI 289**) has as its premise that moral is social. Without questioning the premise, I am very concerned that the evidence used to support it comes in large measure from so-called 'psychological studies' that are themselves highly ethically dubious. For a growing number of psychologists, basing conclusions on authoritarian experiments is an ethical embarrassment. Psychologists will make a much more meaningful contribution to society when the nature of their scientific enquiry becomes ethical and liberatory rather than exploitative.

Richard Walsh-Bowers
Waterloo, Canada

Wind Farms

It is sometimes difficult to know what is fact and what is untrue about proposed wind farms. What is true is that the UK is the windiest country in Europe and with nearly 40 farms already operating there is a great deal of real-life experience to consider. If you would like to find out more, write to me at the British Wind Energy Association, 4 Hamilton Place, London W1V OBQ. Or visit our website at http://www.bwea.com

Nick Goodall
London, England

Shared home

In ***Endangered Species*** (**NI 288**) you remind us that each year new species of plants and animals are added to the list of those soon to be extinct. Without the possibility of a major species evolving, we must attempt to sustain those species that have evolved in the past.

Those who exalt 'business first' and scoff at the extinction of an owl or a flower forget that all life depends on the continued resilience of ecological networks of which owls and flowers are an integral part. The words 'ecology;

Letters continued

and 'economy' both derive from the Greek *ekos* meaning 'home'. Our home is the earth.

The only restraint which can save this home is individual thrift and non-waste. The planet conceived of as a mass of resources to be extracted at a maximum rate of efficiency and profit is now an obsolete concept which endangers our global dwelling place itself.

Is it not time for all governments and corporate leaders to reconsider their regime for trashing our shared home?

James Christoff
Denman Island, Canada

Emotional rhetoric

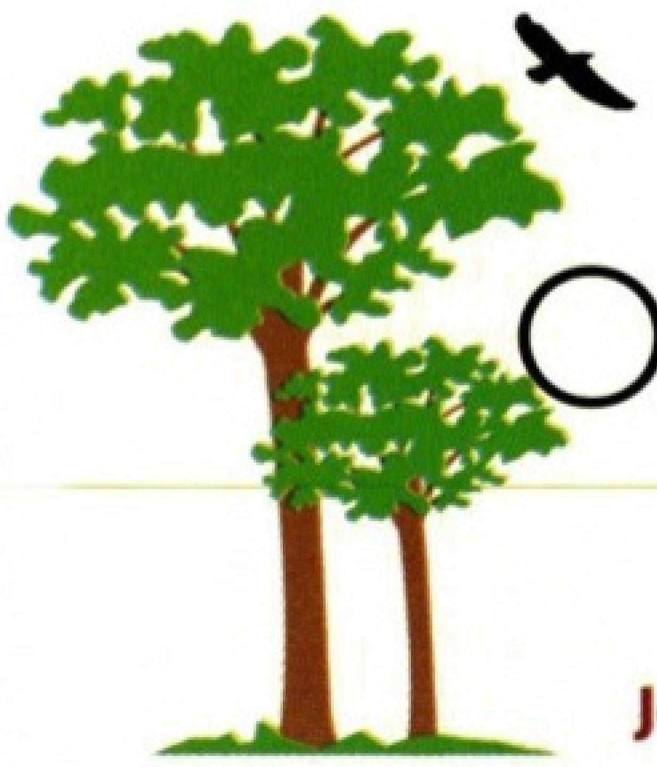
In his article 'Deaf to the Screams' (**NI 287**) Peter Adamson courageously exposes 'the most neglected tragedy of our times': the high rate of material mortality and morbidity in the developing world. As a woman and a humanist I share his concern and outrage. However, I must take issue with the purely emotional rhetoric used to wake us up.

Adamson cites one midwife: 'If hundreds and thousands of men were suffering and dying every year... then we would all have heard about this issue long ago, and something would have been done.' Such a statement is inflammatory and empty. I recognize and support the need to focus on women's problems; however, the midwife's statement tries to emphasize the difference between the world's treatment of men and women by creating an imaginary men's affliction. Lacking specifics, she claims in effect that *any* men's problem would be easily noticed, understood and solved. She does not acknowledge that what often affects availability of information and ease of action are a problem's connections to the particulars of geography, politics, economics, education and culture, and not simply gender.

Emotionalism can be effective only if tied to fact. When tied to this kind of arbitrary situation it is nothing more than manipulative propaganda.

Amy Reiswig-Hoefle
Kathmandu, Nepal

The views expressed on the letters page are not necessarily those of the New Internationalist.



LETTER FROM COLOMBIA

Of poppies, plantations – and parents

Jenny James looks out over Colombia's opium crop. The nearest fields are five minutes from her cabin.

THE poppies in Colombia aren't red, like those that grew in the cornfields of Kent when I was a child. They are every delicate pastel shade from pink to mauve to purple.

When they drop their petals and form large seed-cups, young children and muscled men who could be doing much heavier work bend over the vast fields, making fine razor-cuts in the pods. Then, day by day, the sticky ooze that emanates from the cut is collected. Final destination: heroin on the city streets of the Northern Hemisphere.

Poppies grow best on recently deforested cool mountain slopes; for at least a year the floor of the slaughtered forest will be fertile.

The nearest opium crop to us is about five minutes from our central cabin. The occupant of the versatile sprayer-plane that swooped down right over our heads as we weeded our vegetable garden would naturally have thought the crop was ours; in fact, its owner lives one hour down the mountainside. So far, we have avoided being sprayed by aerial herbicides; not so our nearest neighbour Chucho, just ten minutes along the muddy track, nor Don Carlos, the next neighbour. He is an Evangelist and preached to me how he would 'never hurt other nations' by growing poppies. Now he has several acres. There is no other form of agriculture in this area, now that a ban on logging has finally been imposed.

The FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) guerrilla force have been known kill drug-users, after the customary three cautions, or at least to drive them from the area. But they support the peasants and oppose aerial spraying. So do I.

Martyn, aged 15, was standing with some neighbours outside their shack watching the aerial antics. He had a small radio with him and caught the aircraft's frequency.

'Look at those sons-of-bitches watching us. Perhaps they'd like another dose,' said one of the Colombian armed-helicopter crew, directing and protecting the American pilot of the spray-plane.

Martyn, being Irish, could understand both the languages spoken in the air above him.

It's handy for the Colombian Government that the Americans have decided it is easier to attack Third World peasants rather than deal with problems back home; the Colombian Government likes attacking peasants too, especially in guerrilla-controlled areas.

Meanwhile, we heard that my daughter Louise, also 15, was working on a poppy farm. She had told us that she and her teenage boyfriend, Alvaro, were tasting life in the nearest town.

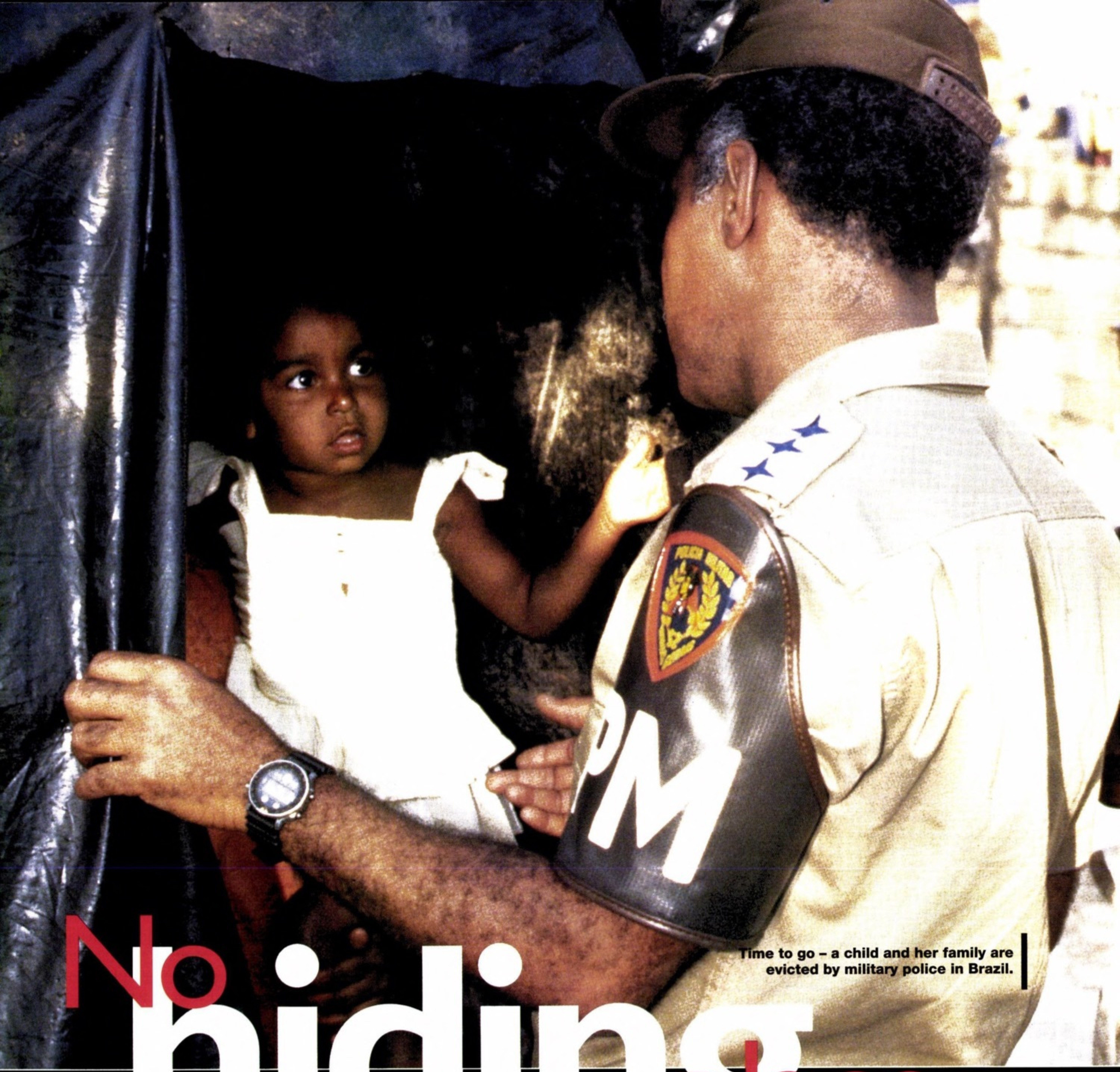
Martyn's mother, Mary, hit the roof, and eyed me for my reaction. I shrugged. I was caught somewhere between not wanting to play the authoritarian parent and feeling indignant that Louise would risk sullying our anti-drug reputation, thus weakening our environmental arguments. Mary flew off.

She returned many hours later, rosy and pleased with herself, with a pale Louise in tow. Mary and the neighbour's poppy-workers had enjoyed the brawl. Alvaro had not. He was trained that it was not nice to hit ladies, even when attacked, and ended up being chased round the opium plantation by the robust and not-very-inhibited Mary. The plantation owner was also not pleased: Mary gave him an Irish-Colombian earful and he has not spoken to us since.

Louise was relieved to be rescued; she had hated every minute of her escapade. I couldn't help a little private amusement as I mentally perused the generations: my own mother, born in 1910, had shocked her Victorian mother by leaving home at 22, becoming a professional artist and joining the Communist Party. I'd horrified her by beginning my sexual life at 14; what could Louise do in her turn? Well, she could go and work on an opium-poppy plantation.

Jenny James has lived and worked in the rainforest in Colombia since 1987.

SARAH JOHN



Time to go – a child and her family are evicted by military police in Brazil.

DYLAN GARCIA / STILL PICTURES

No hiding place

Human rights are not just concerned with abuse, torture and firing squads – they are about healing the desperate divisions of our world, as **Nikki van der Gaag** explains.

As I approach the gates, I can't imagine how I am going to get in, let alone how anyone might manage to get out. The green mesh fencing must be at least six metres high, with rolls of razor wire all along its perimeter top.

The gate slowly opens, controlled by unseen hands and I am in, entering a small cabin to be 'processed'. A sign on the desk details a list of prohibited items. Apart from guns, knives and alcohol, it includes any fresh, home-baked or tinned food, any bottles of whatever size, mirrors and combs. My bag is thoroughly searched and I go through a metal detector which, I am told, is likely to beep at the tiniest hairpin.

Finally I am through. More gates, the forms are passed on to another official and I walk into the Visitors' Room.

A prison, you would guess. A place where people who have committed serious crimes are locked up for the protection of society.

But you would be wrong. The place is Campsfield Detention Centre, in the heart of rural England, only a few kilometres from the **NI** office. And those locked inside – for months and sometimes more than a year – have not been accused of any crime. In fact, they are victims themselves; people, young and old, who have fled persecution in their home countries only to face stringent asylum laws and the further trauma of imprisonment.

> ***'Western policies regarding human rights are carefully planned and stage-managed hypocrisy'***

Some of the detainees seem very young and very bewildered. I ask if their parents and families back home know where they are.

'No, they would be too worried if they knew – they just think I am in London. I don't tell them. My mother worries about everything,' says Joseph (not his real name), who has a father high up in an opposition party in an African country and is therefore in danger himself.

Joseph is one of 15 million people who have been forced to flee violence and persecution in their home country. Escaping human-rights abuse in one place, he encounters it where he least expected to – in a country he had hoped would be a safe haven.

Safe havens are now few and far between. In 1997 many rich-world governments tightened up their laws on refugees. 'Governments are increasingly showing a callous disregard for the effect their policies have on desperate asylum-seekers,' says Pierre Sané, Amnesty International's Secretary-General. More and more governments 'are constructing impenetrable barriers to such people, even preventing them reaching their countries and accessing legal asylum procedures.'

It is the rich world and not the poor one that is closing its doors. Contrary to popular assumptions, 85 per cent of refugees are in countries of the Majority World – those who can least afford to welcome them are the most generous in doing so. Human rights are full of such paradoxes.

Five decades ago, millions of refugees were fleeing a different war. The horrors of the Second World War are still a reminder of what violations of human rights on a large scale can mean. And it was those horrors that provided the impetus for the founding of the United Nations and for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights it formulated in 1948. The UN was a very different body then from that of today. For a start, there were only 58 members (now there are 185). In that post-War period it was dominated by the victors, the Big Four: the US, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. Few countries from Africa, Asia or Latin America belonged – indeed, the majority of these were still under colonial rule.

In drawing up the document, the Americans, British and French wanted an emphasis on what are now called 'first-generation' rights; such as the right not to be tortured or the right not to be imprisoned unless you have committed a crime. With the persecution of the Nazi years firmly in mind, they wanted rights for individuals that would ensure such things never happened again. The Soviet Union, remembering famine as well as persecution, wanted to include 'second-generation' rights – the right not to be poor and to have a decent standard of living.

The American bloc won – by 48 votes to eight. The eight abstentions were Saudi Arabia, South Africa, the Soviet Union and five countries of the Eastern bloc. The final document paid lip service to economic and collective rights – Article 3 talks of the right to 'life and liberty' and Article 25 of the right 'to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself (sic) and his family' – but focused mainly on civil and political ones.

The divisions of a polarized world were already manifest and by 1952 it was clear that some crucial areas had been left out – namely, what came to be called 'third-generation' rights. The right to development, to self-determination, to a sustainable environment.

These were included in two separate documents which are integral to the Universal Declaration: the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

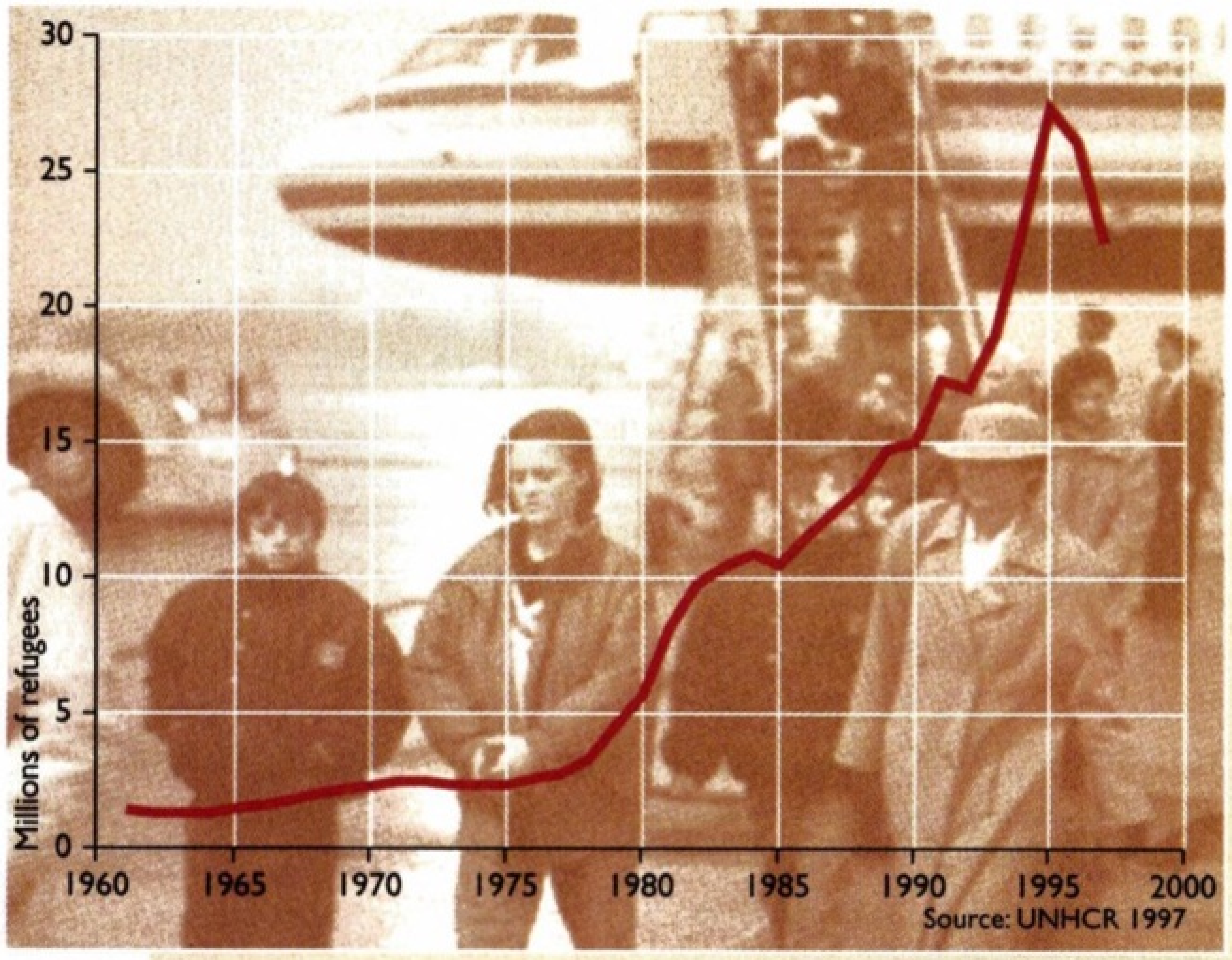
Despite the two Covenants and a string of subsequent documents, the disagreements of 1948 still provoke furious debate. With one vital difference. The end of the Cold War has meant that the Soviet mantle has fallen on the countries of the Majority World. It is they who now insist that economic rights should be taken seriously and who say that 'human rights' as a concept is a Western weapon with which to beat the countries of the poor world. Mahathir Mohamed, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, is a prime mover here, as Angela Lee Nga Kam explains in her article on page 34.

But it is a thesis also put forward by those whose politics are very different. Winin Pereira, radical Indian author and former nuclear physicist, argues that: 'Western policies regarding human rights are carefully planned and stage-managed hypocrisy. These policies – and the violations that result from them – are not the passing aberration of a few immoral individuals but official directives, "legally" enacted and implemented over centuries.' [1]

Pereira goes through the rights enumerated in the Declaration and convincingly shows how each one has been used to shore up oppression against the peoples of the Majority World.

He believes that this oppression was firmly entrenched even in 1948.

When we think of human rights, what we generally mean are Western 'liberty rights'. This may well be, as Pereira believes, a political position. But it is also because such rights seem more clear-cut, with a victim and a perpetrator. Mari Marcel Thekaekara, who works with



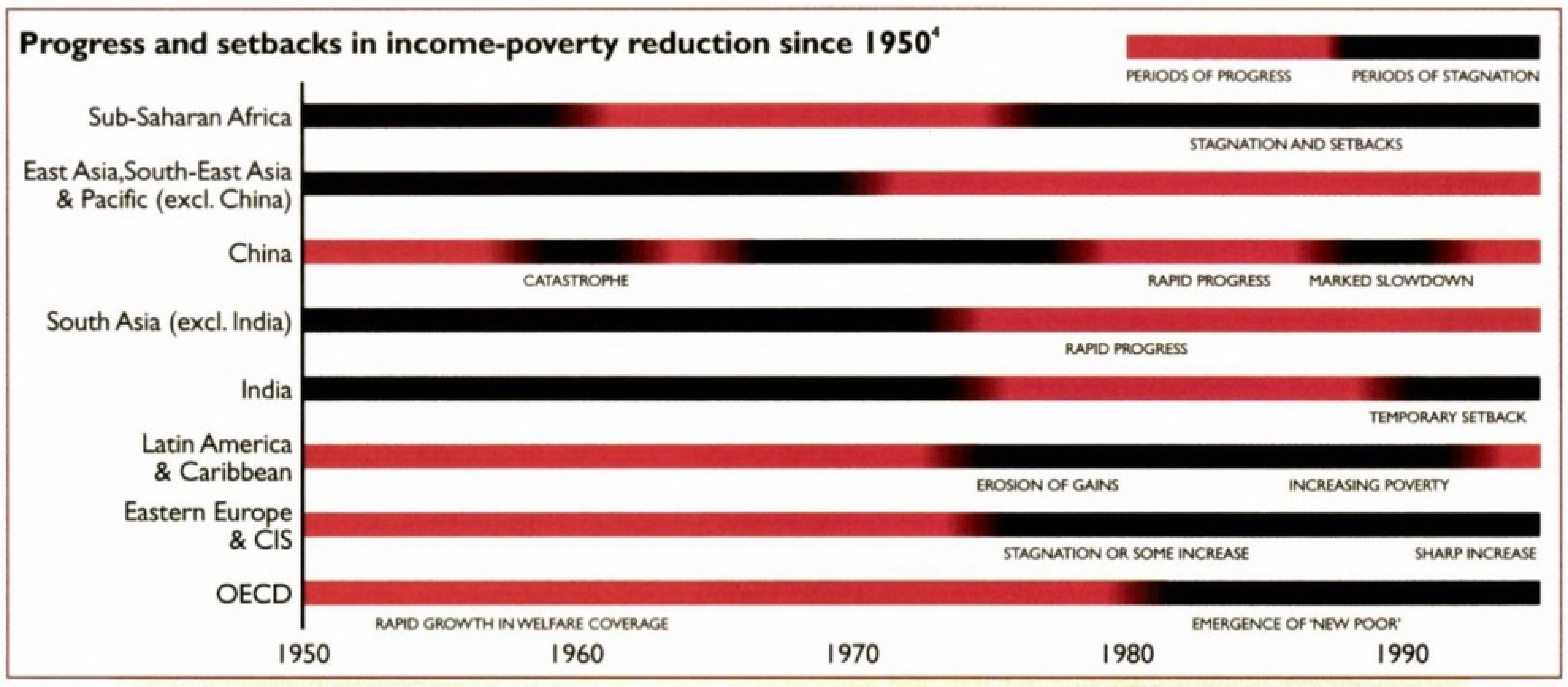
Source: UNHCR 1997

HOWARD DAVIES / PANOS PICTURES

REFUGEES

One in every 255 people on the planet is a refugee. The majority of these are women and children, and most are displaced within the Majority World. The total number of people of concern to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees rose from 17 million in 1991 to a record 27 million in 1995. Over the past two years the number decreased to 22 million as many refugees in Africa were repatriated.

In addition there are at least 30 million people displaced within their own countries.



POVERTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

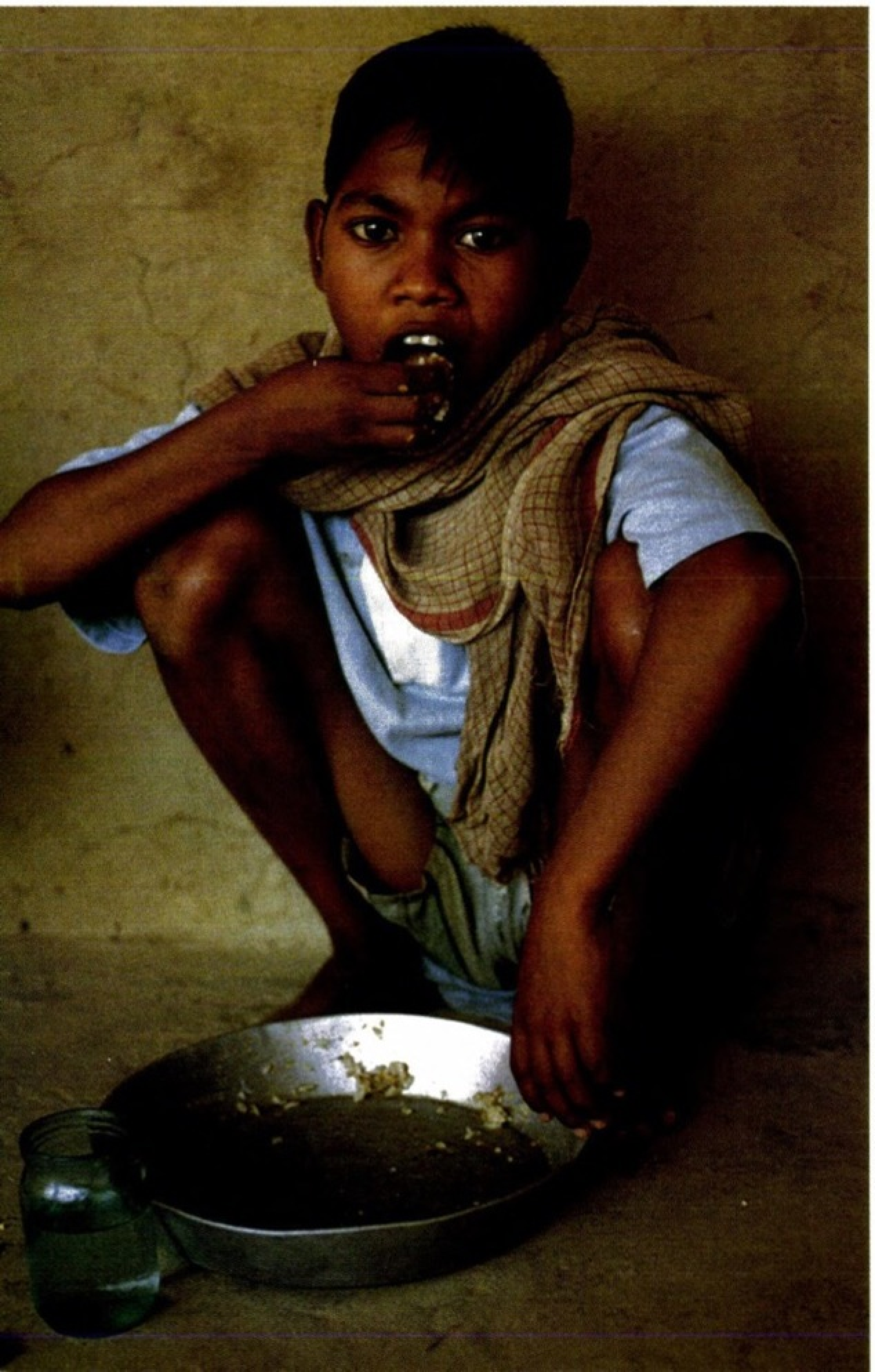
Poverty is an abuse of human rights. While there have been huge improvements since 1950, progress has varied considerably from region to region.

indigenous peoples in southern India, asks: 'Why am I more shocked by the Tiananmen Square Massacre than by victims of famine in Africa?' She knows the answer. 'I think it is because the first is clearly seen as murder. I can empathize with the victims and pinpoint, more or less, the perpetrators.'[2]

We are witnessing a quantum shift towards official acknowledgement that poverty is also an abuse of human rights. Mary Robinson, former President of Ireland and recently appointed High Commissioner for Human Rights, has put herself clearly on the line by stating that: 'Poverty is a violation of numerous basic human rights.' She goes on to say that she is committed to 'treating economic and social rights with the same priority as civil and political rights. They must be treated as interdependent and indivisible if either set is to be realized.'[3]

In the 50 years since the Declaration poverty has fallen more than in the previous 500 says the 1997 *Human Development Report*[4]. But the High Commissioner is right to emphasize the importance of addressing both kinds of rights.

Hand to mouth: poverty is just as much an abuse of human rights as torture or imprisonment.



CLAUDE SAUVAGEOT

A quarter of the world's people continue to be haunted by the spectre of poverty, living on incomes of less than a dollar a day. This is not just confined to the Majority World. Over 100 million people in industrialized countries live below the income-poverty line.[4]

There are still vast inequalities. In many countries of the Majority World the poor are getting poorer. And yet between 1989 and 1996 the number of billionaires in the world increased from 157 to 447. The net wealth of the world's ten richest people is more than 1.5 times the total national income of all the least developed countries.[4] Yet the costs of eradicating poverty have been put at just one per cent of global income. A sum so pitiful that the clamour of its reproach should be echoing across the oceans of the world.

It is all too easy to hide behind hypocrisy; to condemn torture while at the same time condoning the inequality of poverty as something we can do nothing about. We *can* do something about it – as Felicity Arbuthnot points out in her scorching attack on the duplicity of Western 'human rights' in Iraq (see page 12).

And we must. Otherwise the fine words of the Universal Declaration and its successors – 'justice', 'equality', 'liberty' – are just weasel words aimed at protecting the strong against the weak and justifying an unequal world system.

It is not just people in the Majority World who think that the words masked a strong political bias. This bias has also excluded women. When the Declaration was drawn up, women were subsumed under the generic term 'man'. The Declaration fails to address any abuses that are particular to women: domestic violence, rape, infanticide, female genital mutilation, dowry deaths...

Since then, women have campaigned for their rights to be recognized.[5] But it was not until the UN Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 – the first UN Summit on Human Rights in 25 years – that these were officially recognized. The Conference affirmed that 'the human rights of women and of the girl-child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights.'

Opening the General Assembly in September 1997, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said that 'violence against women has become the most pervasive human-rights violation'. Since then, a new Declaration of Human Rights from a Gender Perspective has been drawn up by women's groups in Latin America and the Caribbean. 'The situation of real inequality in which women find themselves,' they say, 'has been perpetuated on the one hand by the difficulty of exercising the rights already legally achieved and on the other because many women's needs were simply never translated into rights.'[6] Their alternative Declaration attempts to remedy this.

But women's rights continue to come a poor second to those of men, from the stark oppression in Afghanistan (see *Chronicle*), through the 250,000 raped in Rwanda in one year of the war, to the half-a-million who die unnecessarily in childbirth each

TOM WEBSTER / IMPACT

Heavy load: the burden of free trade weighs down the Majority World.

year. But can all the declarations and conventions in the world really prevent such abuse? History would say no. The lofty language of the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 – 'We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' – did not prevent the massacre of more than 56,000 Indians in the hundred years that followed. Nor did the French Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789 prevent murder and mayhem in Europe.

Today, despite the Universal Declaration, people are still killed, imprisoned, raped and tortured. In 1997 alone, Amnesty International reported thousands of cases of extrajudicial executions; of people who had 'disappeared' and whose fate remains unknown; of detainees subject to torture and ill-treatment including rape; of prisoners of conscience; of unfair trials and executions (see box).

Having a Universal Declaration seems to have done little to protect these people. But what it has done is to give perpetrators and victims alike a standard by which to measure their crimes. It has given the world the ability to condemn if not yet to punish. And it is possible that 1998 will see the setting up of an International Criminal Court which will be able to judge those crimes against international standards and also to mete out punishment, as Ali Qassim explains on page 15.

In addition, the Declaration provided the impetus for the birth of many human-rights organizations which are able to lobby governments and to document abuses.

For it is easy to forget that there is a person behind each statistic. A person like Joseph in Campsfield Detention Centre, imprisoned in a strange country for being in danger in his own. Or Ourda, aged 17, kidnapped and tortured by Islamic terrorists in Algeria (see box). Or Edvin Sirin, a street child in Guatemala who died last year of poverty and neglect; the only people who came to his funeral were other street children.

There are two main reasons why human rights is such a complex arena. First, we all – consciously or not – have a hierarchy of rights. For governments, civil rights compete with economic ones. And different groups of people are perceived to have different rights. History shows this clearly. In the US of the 1830s President Andrew Jackson urged troops to root out 'Natives' from their 'dens' and kill women and their 'whelps'. Jews, for Hitler, were a sub-race, as were gypsies, homosexuals and disabled people.

We can say clearly that such discrimination is wrong. But the second reason is harder to contend with. Rights can and do conflict. The right of a foetus to be born runs counter to the right of a woman to choose not to have a child. The authority exerted by a government over its people may clash with their right to freedom of expression. In a world of limited resources, the right of one person to be rich is in opposition to another's right to a decent standard of living.

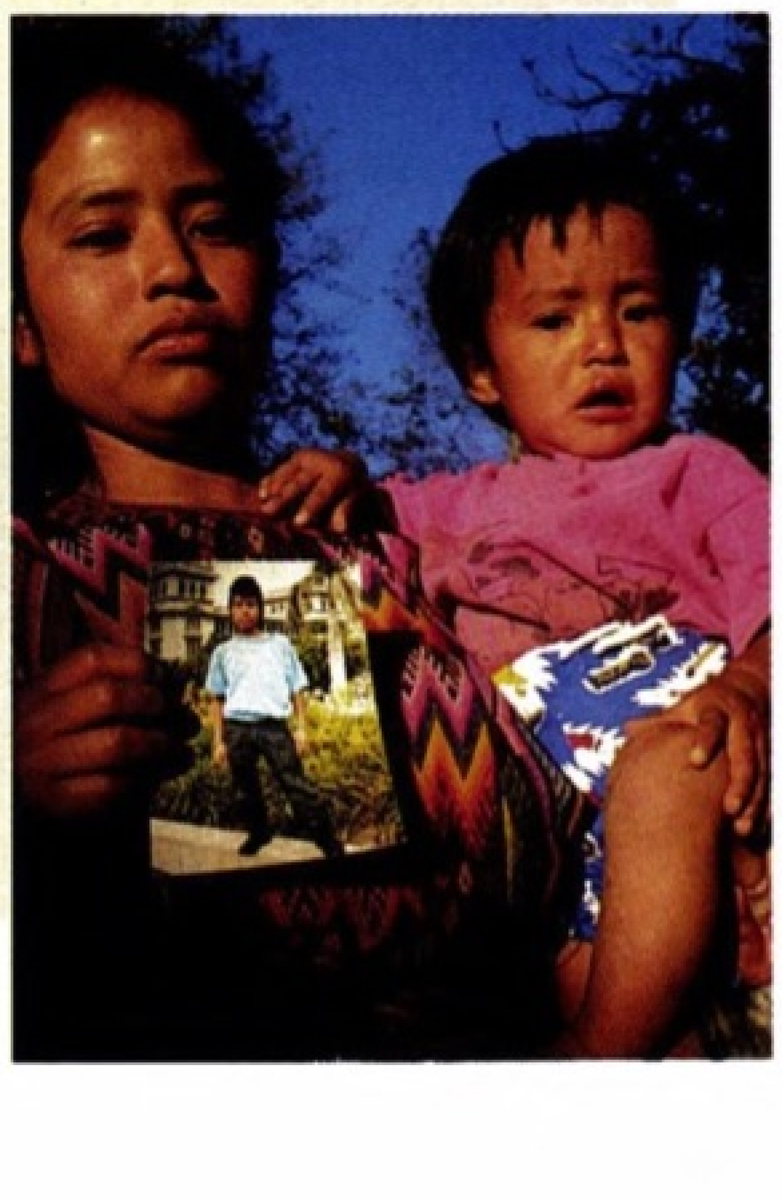
We are in the middle of a major conflict of 'rights' when it comes to free trade. The little-talked-about (and boring-sounding) Multilateral Agreement on Trade (MAI) is due to be implemented in the summer of 1998. The MAI aims to promote free trade by creating common and legally binding rules to reduce government regulation and control of foreign investors. So for example, governments will no longer be allowed to insist that transnationals employ local labour or re-invest locally some of the money they earn. This will seriously compromise some of the rights granted to people in the Declaration 50 years ago.[7]

The MAI is one to watch out for over the coming year. But it is only the most pernicious in a long line of international agreements brokered by the West which uphold the rights of the rich against the poor, of the powerful against the powerless. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1995 did much to promote free trade but little to shore up human rights in the region. And in November 1997 the European Parliament approved the Life Patents Directive which will allow transnational corporations to take out patents on food, medicines and

DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES

The *Amnesty International Report 1997* documents the following:

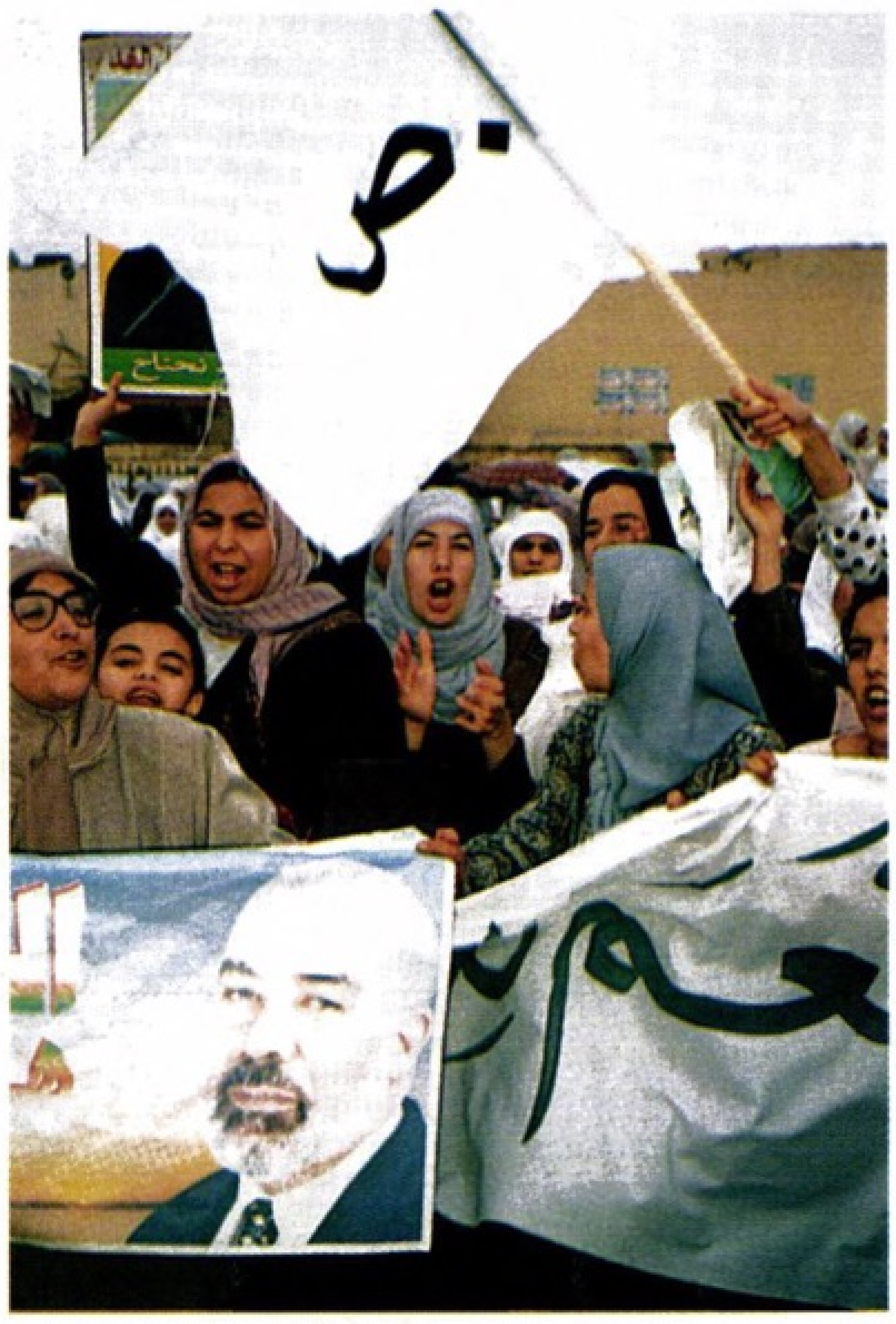
- Thousands of **extrajudicial executions were** reported in at least 69 countries including Algeria, Colombia, India, Somalia and Turkey.
- The fate of hundreds of thousands of people in at least 39 countries who **'disappeared'** in recent years remains unknown. Many of those, in countries including Bosnia-Herzegovina, Burundi and Rwanda, Colombia, Iraq, Sri Lanka and Venezuela, may subsequently have been killed.
- Tens of thousands of detainees were subjected to **torture or ill-treatment**, including rape, in at least 124 countries, such as Cuba, Egypt, Burma, the Russian Federation and Nigeria.
- **Prisoners of conscience** were held in at least 94 countries, including Afghanistan, Equatorial Guinea, Greece, Peru and Tunisia.
- More than 39 countries, including Burundi, China, Greece, Israel and the Occupied Territories, and Peru imprisoned people after unfair **trials.**
- At least 78 countries, including China, Iraq, the Russian Federation, Rwanda and Venezuela held tens of thousands of people in **detention without charge or trial**.
- Thousands of people were **executed** in at least 41 countries including China, Iraq, Nigeria, the Russian Federation and the US. The real figure is believed to be far higher.
- **Armed opposition groups committed abuses** including torture, hostage-taking and deliberate and arbitrary killings in at least 38 countries including Algeria, Burundi, Colombia, Sri Lanka and the UK.



NIGEL DICKINSON / STILL PICTURES

MY WAY TO HELL

Women have always been considered part of the spoils of war. In Algeria, fundamentalist terrorists are 'allowed' to take women as 'temporary wives', legitimizing rape and licensing murder. This is one girl's story.



PAUL HARRIS / CAMERA PRESS

'My name is Ourda. I am 17 years old. Until 13 October 1994 I was a secondary-school student and I lived with my family in the downtown area of Algiers. I studied music at a school directed by a famous master. I was very happy at home and very coddled because I am the youngest child.

But my life was turned upside-down on that horrible day. I'd just left school and was heading home when a young man approached me. Before I knew what had happened he'd violently shoved me into a van that was parked nearby, tied me up and blindfolded me. Then the van sped off. I was completely terrorized by what had happened and by the knife that the man was holding against my cheek so that I wouldn't scream. However I still hadn't realized that I was on my way to hell.

Finally the van stopped. I was taken out and one of the young men removed the blindfold. First I saw an old house in ruins. Then, when I saw all the young girls there, I began to feel a little calmer. There were ten of them. Some were my age, three were over 20 and two were only about ten years old. The girls had all been kidnapped either off the street as I was or directly from their homes.

Every morning the group leader meted out different tasks: cooking, washing, mending and so on. I had to wash their clothes and of course just like all the other girls I was raped every day. I was left to the guards because I wasn't that pretty.

I'm free now because of the alertness and help of some people living in a village where our abductors had taken me with some other girls so as to transfer us to another terrorist hideout. I was in a deplorable state. I had become very thin and was ridden with lice. The few pieces of clothing still on my body were in tatters. I had to use some of my clothes as sanitary napkins. I hadn't been able to wash properly because, just like the other girls, I was only entitled to a litre of water every two days and I didn't have a change of clothes.

Although I've come home to a loving family I am continuously plagued by an obsession that makes me cry out in fear every night. I'm afraid the terrorists will try to retrace me, even though we've moved to a new address.

What kind of life can be ahead of me now? How can I heal my deepest wounds and dream of the future? How can I ever dream of falling in love and having children?

My family tell me I'm young and that I'll get over the nightmares and the pain, that some day I'll be able to look at my own body without hating it, that some day I'll stop hating men. But I'm not there yet. I still shudder when I think that those who are guilty of these crimes are still ruthlessly plaguing our country...'

From *Without Reservation: the Beijing Tribunal on Accountability for Human Rights* edited by Niamh Reillly (Center for Women's Global Leadership 1996).

even body parts – to the detriment of the rights of citizens and governments alike.

It is a strange paradox that these moves towards a global marketplace are being given new impetus at exactly the same time that we are celebrating – if celebrating is the right word – the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

UN High Commissioner Mary Robinson has told her colleagues that she does not 'see the anniversary as an occasion for celebration'. She continues: 'Count up the results of 50 years of human-rights mechanisms, 30 years of multi-billion-dollar development programs and endless high-level rhetoric and the global impact is quite underwhelming... This is a failure of implementation on a scale which shames us all.'[3]

Nevertheless, that shame can be used to good effect. The Universal Declaration, for all its faults and imperfections, is a living document. Taken together with the two Covenants it is a powerful force for good; a standard by which we can measure the world's imperfections and work towards righting wrongs – past, present and future.

'My own approach to human rights,' says Robinson, 'is based on an inner sense of justice. Perhaps because I am from Ireland and have my roots in a past struggle for freedom, of famine and a dispersal of a people. Perhaps also from my experiences as a lawyer and a politician and, more recently, as a President privileged to visit and be a witness to profound suffering and deprivation in countries such as Somalia and Rwanda.'

We all need her passion for justice, together with her recognition of the needs of our complex world. The vision with which the Declaration was created must be renewed and revitalized as a force for change not just by a few powerful governments but by all the governments and all the peoples of the world. We do not have to live with the terrible things that happen each and every day. There must be no hiding place for evil. ■

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[1] *Inhuman Rights – The Western System and Global Human Rights Abuse,* Winin Pereira (The Other India Press/Apex Press/Third World Network 1997). [2] From an article written for the **NI**. [3] The Romanes Lecture, Oxford, November 1997 by Mary Robinson. [4] *Human Development Report* (UNDP 1997). [5] Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights, Center for Women's Global Leadership, 27 Clifton Ave, Douglass College, New Brunswick, NJ08903, US. Fax: (+1) 732 932 1180. e-mail: cwgl@igc.apc.org [6] CLADEM, the Latin American Women's Organization. Full Declaration available at website: http://www.pdhre.org/fiftieth/cladem.html [7] More details in *The MAI and the threat to Canadian Sovereignity* by Tony Clarke and Maude Barlow (Stoddart 1997).

ACTION

Human-rights organizations all over the world will be gearing up for the anniversary of the Declaration. We are in the middle of the decade for human-rights education so schools can also get involved. Ask your local human-rights groups what they are doing to mark the 50th anniversary. Here are some international campaigns:

- **Amnesty International**'s *Get Up Sign Up* campaign for the 50th anniversary of the Declaration asks you to make your pledge to work for human rights by signing the world's biggest book – to be presented to the UN on 10 December 1998. Within the campaign, you have the opportunity to act on behalf of individuals who have stood up for human rights. Ask your national Amnesty International section for more information or find it on website: http://www.amnesty.excite.com
- The **UN Human Rights Commission** has details of more than 50 ideas on how to mark the anniversary of the Declaration. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Geneva, Switzerland. Website: http://www.unhchr.ch/html/50th/50anniv.htm#50
- **Human Rights Watch** keeps an eye on world abuses of human rights and produces detailed reports. Find them at: 485 Fifth Ave, New York, NY 10017-6104, US. Tel: (+1)212 972 8400. Fax: (+1)212 972 0905. e-mail: hrwnya@hrw.org

EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO LIFE, LIBERTY AND SECURITY OF PERSON

Dying of sha

More than a million children have died as a direct result of the sanctions we have imposed on Iraq. **Felicity Arbuthnot** wonders who are the worst terrorists: Saddam Hussein and his cronies, or the United Nations and its allies?

FOR the people of Iraq, normality died in August 1990. Today, in formerly high-tech hospitals, built with petro-dollars and staffed with people who have completed postgraduate training in Britain, Canada and the US, surgery is frequently carried out without anaesthetic; the simplest items, from painkillers to antibiotics, are unavailable. Scanners, X-ray machinery and incubators lie idle for want of spare parts.

To witness the effect of the United Nations embargo is to live with images that haunt. To walk into any hospital ward is to see a look in the eyes of parents of a desperately sick child, which can be instantly translated: one is from outside, so possibly important, can perhaps wave a magic wand, help. Then the look dies...

On a visit to one ward I saw two children with acute myeloid leukaemia – cancers have risen fivefold since the Gulf War; a rise some experts have linked to the depleted uranium weapons used primarily by the US, Britain and France, which left a residue of radioactive dust throughout the country. The younger child, just three, his little body bloated with oedema, bleeding internally, in terrible pain, was making tiny mewing noises. His eyes were filled with tears but he had learned not to cry since it wracked his small frame further and increased the agony. His name translated as 'the vital one'.

The older child, aged five, was in a similar condition, yet when I bent to stroke the pathetic, puffy little face, damp with perspiration, a small hand grabbed mine and he squeezed with all his might. I knew then that it is possible to die of shame.

In 1989 the World Health Organization recorded Iraq as having 92-per-cent access to clean water, 93-per-cent access to high-quality healthcare and with high educational and nutritional standards.

By 1995 the World Food Programme noted that: 'time is running out for the children of Iraq'. Figures – verified by UNICEF – record that 1,211,285 children died of embargo-related causes between August 1990 and August 1997. A silent holocaust in the name of the UN, these numbers are similar to those lost in Pol Pot's genocide in Cambodia. It is three times the population of Kuwait in small lives lost. And it is broadly ten times the 130,000 people that Amnesty International estimated to have died in Iraq in the ten years to 1989 as a result of the country's woeful human-rights record.

'After 24 years in the field, starting with Biafra, I didn't think anything could shock me,' wrote Dieter Hannusch of the World Food Programme in 1995. 'But this was comparable to the worst scenarios I had ever seen.'

Inflation is stratospheric. When a child who had fainted in school was asked what was wrong, she replied: 'It's not my turn to eat today.' Families eat in rotation so that there is a little more for the others. A new medical diagnosis has manifested itself. Mothers too malnourished to breastfeed and unable to afford milk powder – a tin exceeds a doctor's monthly salary – feed their babies on sugared water or sugared tea. These babies become chronically malnourished, terribly bloated and almost all die. Doctors call them the 'sugar babies'.

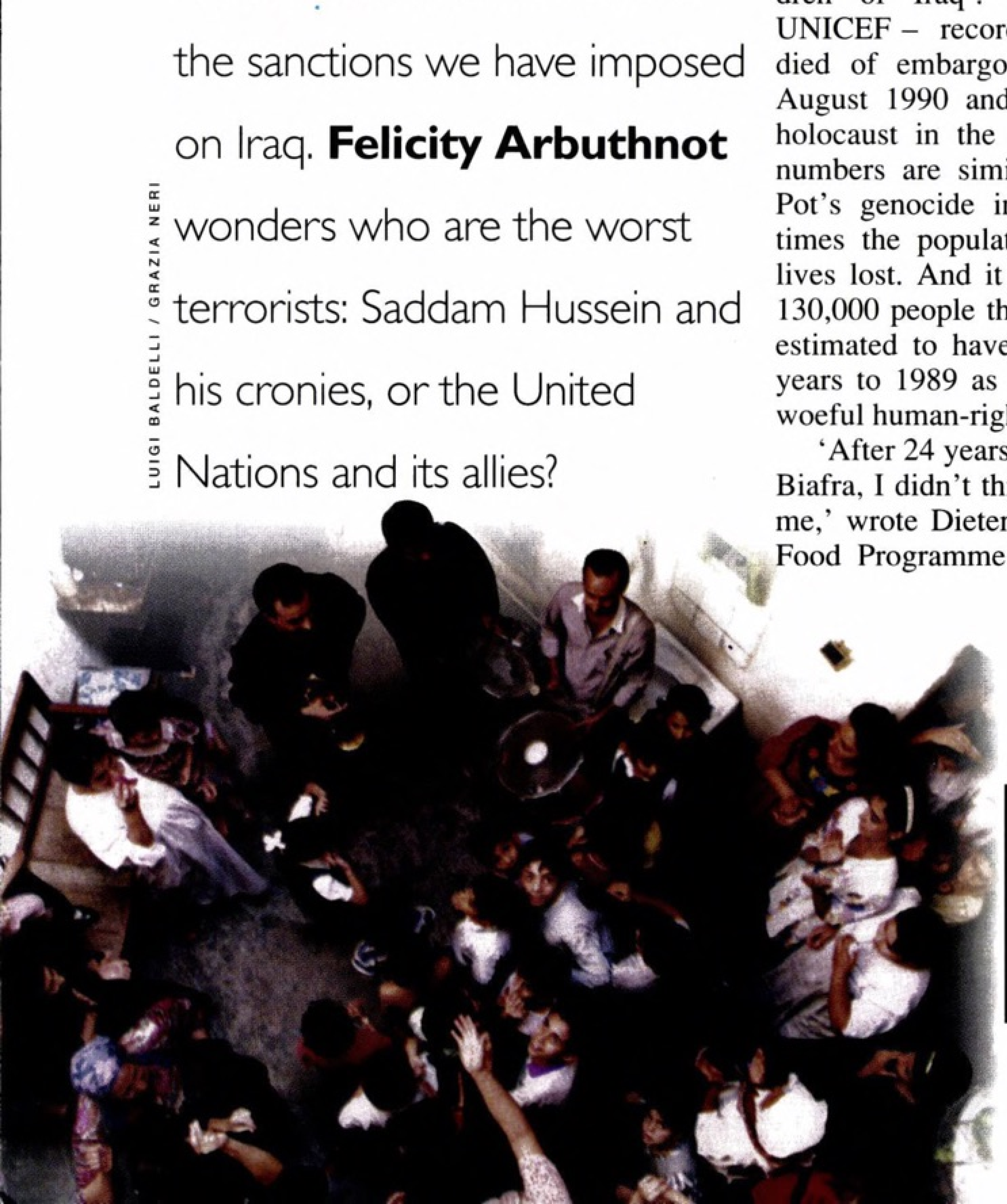
The embargo has meant the death of childhood for those who do survive. There are no birthday parties any more: no-one has the money for presents. Most children since the embargo have never tasted chocolate – on a recent visit I bought two chocolate bars and tubes of sweets for a child. They came to 3,000 Iraqi dinars. I realized with shock that I had just spent the monthly salary of my interpreter, who speaks seven languages and has worked all over the world.

Children's bikes, toys, pencils, erasers and exercise books have all been vetoed by the Sanctions Committee; so too have lipstick, sanitary towels and shoelaces. A grandmother living in Britain sent a pair of hand-knitted leggings to her new grandchild in Baghdad and had them returned by the Post Office with the information that she would have to apply to the Department of Trade and Industry for an export licence.

Knowledge itself is embargoed too; medical journals are not allowed. Neither, in 1994, were 500 tonnes of shroud cloth. Sanctions reach beyond the grave – when children born after 1990 die, parents do not even have a photograph to remember them by. Film, even if you can find it, exceeds the average professional's monthly salary – and is always out of date.

Former US Attorney-General Ramsey Clark has described the blockade as the most draconian in modern history. In 1919, US President Woodrow Wilson advocated sanctions as a 'quiet but most lethal weapon that exerts a pressure no nation can withstand'.

From 1945 to 1990 there were just three embargoes: Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe); South Africa and Cuba. The first two,



LUIGI BALDELLI / GRAZIA NERI

Looking up in hope – but there are no birthday parties any more (left); Sugar baby – a mother and child near Baghdad's Saddam Hussein hospital (main picture).

LUIGI BALDELLI / GRAZIA NERI

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largely big-business related, affected the populace but did not put them in a straitjacket. The embargo on Cuba has affected normality from medical treatment to pencils, as with Iraq.

From 1990 to 1994 embargoes were implemented against nine countries. In the case of Iraq, Saddam Hussein remains unaffected while his people suffer. 'Starvation of civilians as a method of warfare is prohibited,' says the Geneva Convention. Such treatment of civilians – however unscrupulous their ruler – defies international law and runs counter to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The UN Sub-Commission on Human Rights concluded in 1994 that blockades, sanctions and freezing of assets are 'terrorist acts'. In August 1997 it passed a unanimous resolution condemning the 'adverse consequences of economic sanctions on the enjoyment of human rights'.

The draconian implementation of sanctions has been a war of moving goalposts. The world has mostly forgotten that sanctions were implemented as an alternative to war. Iraq is now 'a country bombed back to a pre-industrial age for a considerable time to come', according to the UN Special Rapporteur back in 1991. It has suffered grievously from the double standards of the UN, to whom it was one of the first signatories.

It is not the first time. When the Iraqis revolted against British domination in 1919, the Royal Air Force requested authorization from Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State at the War Office, to use chemical weapons 'against recalcitrant Arabs as an experiment'. Churchill sanctioned their use, saying: 'I do not understand this squeamishness about the use of gas. I am strongly in favour of using [it] against uncivilized tribes.'

Demonizing a nation into sub-humanity was justification for genocide then as now. Whilst the UN and the US deem nations 'pariah states', it is the people not the regimes which suffer. Every time Iraq complies with one condition for the lifting of sanctions, another appears. These include recognizing the border with Kuwait (done); monitoring cameras being installed (done); destruction of armaments (stated by the weapons inspectors as done but since they cannot prove there is not a weapon left in the country this can be open-ended).

While international bureaucrats wrangle at the United Nations, Iraq must prove what few other countries are in a position to prove – that it is adhering to the highest standards of human rights. In the absence of a concrete enemy post-Cold War, Saddam is a convenient demon; a dictator who is also a Muslim. Though Iraq is a Muslim country, it is not militantly so.

In a small grocery store in a poor area of Baghdad early one morning I watched a child of perhaps five, in the mode of small children everywhere, proudly doing a terribly important errand: he bought one egg. A tray of 30 eggs exceeds a university professor's monthly salary. To go to the home of professional, relatively wealthy people and have a dish with tiny pieces of egg in it is to be honoured indeed.

When a child who had fainted in school was asked what was wrong, she replied: 'It's not my turn to eat today'

As he left, the child dropped the egg. He fell to the floor, frantically trying to pick the shell, yolk and white, with his small hands, tears streaming down his face. As I reached in my pocket, the shopkeeper gently tapped him on the shoulder and gave him another.

Trauma is everywhere, in every small act. That child will never forget that egg – it could be a metaphor for Iraq, for human rights, for the UN and for the embargo itself, 'the quiet but most lethal weapon'. ■

Felicity Arbuthnot is a journalist specializing in environmental and social issues. She has written and broadcast widely on sanctions in Iraq.

Campaign groups against sanctions:
International Action Centre, 39 w14th St, Suite 206, New York, NY 10011, US.
Tel: (+1) 212 633 6646. Fax: (+1) 212 633 2889.
e-mail: npc@pipeline.com
Founded by Ramsey Clark.
Rania Masri, Founder and Co-ordinator, Iraqi Action Coalition. 7309 Haymarket Lane, Raleigh, NC 27615, US.
Tel: (+1) 919 846-8264. Fax: (+1) 919 846-7422.
Home page:
http://www4nscu.edu/~rramsri/www/LAC/
e-mail: rmasri@nscu.edu

The **ark** of resistance

DAVID RANSOM

José Ramos Horta has won the Nobel Peace Prize. But he tells **David Ransom** that he will never be at peace until his country, East Timor, is free.

Two decades spent constantly on the move, sleeping on floors and knocking on diplomatic doors in every corner of the earth, have taken their toll on José Ramos Horta. It must be hard for him, on any one day, to figure out exactly where he is. Yet, in person, he is extraordinarily calm, as if sustained by the force of his convictions. You can tell he'd have made a good lawyer – the profession for which he trained. Tortoise-shell frames on round spectacles, observant, restless eyes and thick, greying hair give him an intellectual, distinguished and slightly distracted air.

There is nothing abstract about his cause. Of his eleven brothers, four were killed after the invasion of his country, East Timor, by the Indonesian Army in 1975. Ramos Horta has spent the intervening years in exile as the Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, the umbrella organization of pro-independence movements inside and outside East Timor.

Then, in December 1996 – jointly with the Catholic Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, who remains inside the country – he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 'sustained efforts to hinder the oppression of a small people'. 'The Peace Prize has made an enormous difference in awareness-raising around the world,' he says. 'This has resulted in pressure, embarrassment for governments that are now taking the issue much more seriously.'

False optimism would not, however, have sustained him through the long years of exile. He has no illusions now. 'The level of repression has increased dramatically,' he continues. 'The number of troops in East Timor is at the same level as in the mid-1970s, when Indonesia first invaded. There are now something like 30,000 troops in the territory. Bishop Belo says he has never seen so many troops. That is not only an arrogant defiance of the world, but also an act of desperation, hoping that they can crush once and for all the people of East Timor...

> ***'A terrorist is not only someone who picks up a gun and kills individuals'***

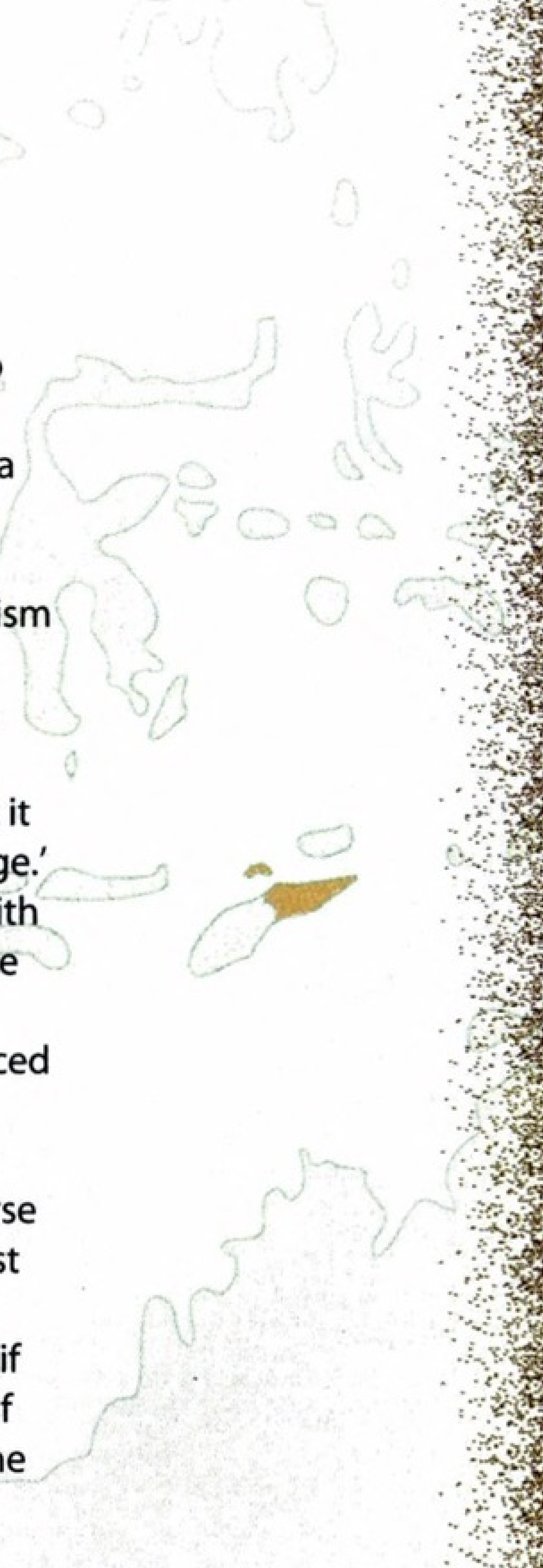
'If you can label a country a terrorist state based on its behaviour towards its own people, Indonesia is a terrorist state. A terrorist is not only someone who picks up a gun and kills individuals. Terrorists are also those who drop bombs from the skies on a civilian population, or use troops to massacre civilians. Indonesia belongs in the category of terrorist state.'

José Ramos Horta 's persistence is based on his knowledge of the East Timorese people and their determination never to be digested by their huge Indonesian neighbour. There is the obvious difference between the Catholic majority in East Timor and the Muslim majority in Indonesia. Perhaps more significant, and certainly less well known, is that the East Timorese are predominantly Melanesian, linking them to the people of the South Pacific: the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea – and West Papua, which is also under Indonesian control and where the people face, if anything, a situation even worse than the East Timorese.

'West Papua is a shameful case of international abandonment and betrayal,' says Ramos Horta . 'What is being done to the people of West Papua is what was being done in the Americas, in Argentina, Chile or in Australia, on the arrival of the Europeans – simply disposing of, killing off, the local inhabitants. This is happening right now, at the end of the twentieth century, and the world is guilty for what's happening. Not only Indonesia; Australia, New Zealand, the United States – all are guilty, humanity is guilty for what is happening to the West Papuans.'

Which is one reason why he is so critical of the Australian Government, East Timor's immediate neighbour to the south. 'Australia has very little leverage or credibility as far as Indonesia is concerned,' he maintains. 'It could play a role, a significant role, if it were to be involved in a concerted effort with the US, the Europeans, Canada. But Australia has wasted its potential: its domestic policies have destroyed any relevance it had in the past.'

Ramos Horta calls for specific sanctions on Indonesia. 'There has to be at least an arms embargo. There have to be other forms of sanctions: a consumer boycott of goods like Nike shoes [many of which are made in Indonesia]. People should boycott tourism in Bali – most of the hotels are owned by Indonesian generals, by the Suharto family... That is a monumental task, because you need to educate the people, mobilize them constantly. But it would be an effective way of bringing about change.'



With a total population of less than a million, with perhaps 200,000 East Timorese already killed by the Indonesian Army, and with officially sponsored immigration from Indonesia, one is sometimes forced to wonder whether there really is a future in independence for the East Timorese people.

Ramos Horta has no such doubts: 'Well, of course they have a future, as they have survived in the past for thousands of years. The only thing that would destroy the resistance would be global warming – if the ocean rises and sinks some of the island! Well, if the worst comes to the worst we'd all go up into the mountains and just build an ark similar to Noah's. We'll always survive.' ■

David Ransom is an **NI** co-editor.

Article 8.

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted them by the constitution or by law.

Tyrants on trial

Why should it be so difficult to establish an International Criminal Court?

Ali Qassim explains.

Unmasked: Sigourney Weaver and Ben Kingsley star as Paulina and Miranda in *Death and the Maiden*.

BFI STILLS, POSTERS AND DESIGNS

ONE night Gerardo Escobar, a lawyer in his forties, whose car breaks down on a highway, is given a lift home by a friendly stranger, a doctor in his fifties called Roberto Miranda. Escobar invites Miranda for a drink and, as it is very late, invites him to spend the night. Escobar's wife, Paulina, also in her forties, pretends to be asleep but is eavesdropping on their late-night conversation.

The next day, to his horror, Escobar wakes up to find his wife pointing a gun at Miranda, who is tied up to a chair. Paulina explains that the night before she recognized in the voice of Miranda the torturer who raped her 15 years earlier. Calmly, she informs her husband: 'We are going to put him on trial.'

This summary from the first act of *Death and the Maiden* – written by Chilean playwright Ariel Dorfmann and filmed recently by Roman Polanski – is set in Chile immediately after the 1973-90 Pinochet dictatorship. But it could refer equally to any country – in Latin America or elsewhere – which is grappling with life in a fragile democracy after years of repressive military rule.

A terrified Escobar tries to reason with his raging wife. 'For 15 years you've done nothing with your life. Isn't it time to...?' Paulina interrupts him: 'To forget? You're asking me to forget!' Gerardo replies: 'To free yourself. That's what I'm asking you to do.'

Death and the Maiden raises many questions about governments' attempts to find both just and feasible ways of dealing with human-rights violations instigated by previous regimes.

Almost 25 years after the military coup in 1973 should a new and fragile democracy like Chile bring Pinochet and other generals, many of whom are now in their eighties, to trial? Or is it better to close a chapter in history and allow a new generation to move on – as Escobar puts it, 'to free (itself)'? Can a country 'free itself' without acknowledging its past, without a national examination of its conscience?

Thousands of kilometres away in France, people were asking themselves the same questions in late 1997 when Maurice Papon, at the age of 87, was finally put on trial on charges of crimes against humanity involving the deportation of 1,560 Jews to Nazi death camps.

Of course, France enjoys 50 years of hindsight and distance as well as a relatively effective judicial system. When Escobar suggests to Paulina that cases of human-rights violations can be taken to the courts, she laughs: 'The courts? Of justice? The same courts which in 17 years of dictatorship never intervened to save just one life?'

She could be referring to the dozens of crippled judicial systems which relatively young democracies are struggling to reform in spite of fierce opposition from the military. Many new governments face formidable legal obstacles as they begin to tackle past crimes. In Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay – countries which underwent long periods of military rule in the last 20 years – the outgoing dictatorships ensured in varying degrees that amnesties were granted through special laws.

By the beginning of the next century there could exist a permanent international criminal court linked to the United Nations. This would act as an effective complement to national jurisdictions when they were unable or unwilling to bring those responsible for grave crimes to justice. This at least is the serious project which certain UN member states, propelled by a broad coalition of more than 1,600 non-governmental organizations, are pushing for with increasing vehemence and under slowly growing media attention.

By June 1998 it is expected that a respectable number of nations will sign a treaty in Rome containing the statute of a permanent court, the culmination of a series of special preparatory committees which have met in the last four years.

While certain differences and details are still being ironed out, it is widely understood that the final draft will contain many of the guidelines proposed by Amnesty International: jurisdiction over genocide, other crimes against humanity committed during war or peace, including murder, extermination, forced disappearance of persons, torture, rape, enforced prostitution, arbitrary deportations, forced transfers of populations and persecution on political, racial and religious grounds.

Other proposals include: the right to conduct trials in places other than the seat of the court; the open selection of at least 18 judges with experience in international law; proper witness-protection programs; and legal aid to ensure that suspects have an opportunity to defend themselves.

The proposed International Criminal Court (ICC) will not be able to take on retroactive cases. 'There is no chance of putting Pinochet on trial,' says Vivianne Castro, a former exile who heads lobbying efforts in Latin America for Earth Action from Santiago, Chile's capital. 'But at least we will ensure that those responsible for crimes can never get away again.'

> *'If international justice is to be used as a cheap commodity it would be preferable to leave victims to seek revenge in their own way'*

The ICC will focus on individual criminals: bringing to justice gross perpetrators of crimes against humanity like Saddam Hussein. The impulse to try individual criminals as opposed to nations goes back over 500 years. There were particularly high expectations when ad-hoc courts were created at Nuremberg and Tokyo after the Second World War. But it was only with the end of the Cold War that the idea became truly viable. In 1994 the International Law Commission decided to transmit a draft statute for a permanent court to the UN General Assembly.

'There is an emerging consensus that international prosecution is appropriate when three factors converge: the crimes are grave, the international community has a deep interest in seeing them prosecuted and national judicial systems are unable or unwilling to bring perpetrators to justice,' writes Stephanie Grant, director of program and policy at the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, in the publication *Tribunal*.

The conflict in former Yugoslavia, most notably in Bosnia, was the first situation to be addressed by the UN following these criteria. According to Grant, the subsequent ad-hoc tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda are an 'acid test' for UN member states as to whether to go ahead with an International Criminal Court. 'Their success will support those who argue that a permanent court is feasible and timely.'

And yet neither the tribunal in The Hague (ex-Yugoslavia) nor those in Arusha and Kigali (Rwanda) are yielding much, if any, positive news. This plays into the hands of those states – including some members of the UN Security Council, who reject the need for an ICC.

The Rwanda tribunal is still reeling from the effects of a UN Inspector-General's Report issued in early 1997 which confirmed misplacement of tribunal funds, gross mismanagement and a lack of commitment to the purpose of the tribunal. Add to this the vastly inadequate funds at their disposal: the number of investigators in the recent paedophile affair in Belgium was more than six times greater than the number of investigators in The Hague.

But beyond these operating difficulties, a closer look at the existing ad-hoc tribunals raises several key questions about the effect of the ICC which will have to be closely examined in the run-up to the Rome meeting in June 1998.

Take the closely related issues of co-operation and national sovereignty which emerged as problems earlier this year in The Hague with the outbreak of the so-called 'subpoena drama'. In January 1997, The Hague Tribunal demanded that the Republic of Croatia and its defence minister Gojko Susak hand over documents for use in the trial of Croatian General Tihomir Blaskic, who stands accused of war crimes committed in central Bosnia in April 1993.

Croatia's response was one of huge indignation. The argument went that The Hague was establishing a 'dangerous' precedent which would threaten the principles of state sovereignty. Croatia succeeded in getting support from China. It is easy to make the list of other nations – currently listed as serious violators of human rights – who would not hesitate to use the 'sovereignty' card as a way of impeding any criminal investigation.

'It's that sort of recalcitrant position which would make it very difficult for the ICC to work,' warns Anne Marie Corominas, an attorney at the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy. 'We must make sure that the Tribunal or Court is not built on a foundation that carries the seed of its own destruction.'

Framed: Croatian General Tihomir Blaskic who stands accused of war crimes.

RAPHAËL GAILLARDE / GAMMA

There is another problem: enforcement. Since the summer of 1997, organizations like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International have launched an 'Arrest Now! campaign aimed at pressing Western leaders to order the arrest of people indicted for war crimes in the former Yugoslavia.

'Everyone knows where Karadzic lives,' says Alan Davies, from the Institute for War and Peace Reporting. But there is a great fear that any attempt to seize Karadzic (read also Pol Pot, Saddam Hussein) is likely to result in bloodshed, perhaps an uprising.

'If the ICC is not prepared for such an eventuality, then it is a waste of time to raise expectations about its creation. If it is only going to serve to get the small guys, then it's nonsensical,' says Davies.

There are other major problems too. Richard Goldstone, Chief Prosecutor in The Hague tribunals in 1996, sees a bleak choice ahead: 'If international justice is to be used as a cheap commodity only to be discarded when Realpolitik so requires then it would be preferable to abandon justice and leave victims to seek revenge in their own way.'

In *Death and the Maiden* Paulina is bent on seeking her own revenge. At one point, close to the climax of the play, she is counting to ten before she shoots Miranda. Again, her husband tries to dissuade her. Paula retorts: 'This time I'm going to think about myself, about what I need. If only to do justice in one case, just one. What do we lose? What do we lose, by killing just one of them?'

But Paulina doesn't kill Miranda. The last scene of the play shows Escobar and Paula attending a concert. Miranda sits a few seats away. Victim, lawyer and alleged criminal have been forced by circumstances to an unwritten compromise. Justice has been sacrificed. Only a future scenario in which an independent judiciary has the power to conduct a fair trial and enforce justice can alter this ending. ■

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An international network of campaigning organizations on the ICC is being coordinated by Earth Action, a citizens' network. Contact:

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DAVID RANSOM

Of **guns** and **governments**

Diolinda de Souza of the Movement for Landless Workers in Brazil has lost a husband – but not her courage to continue, as **David Ransom** found out.

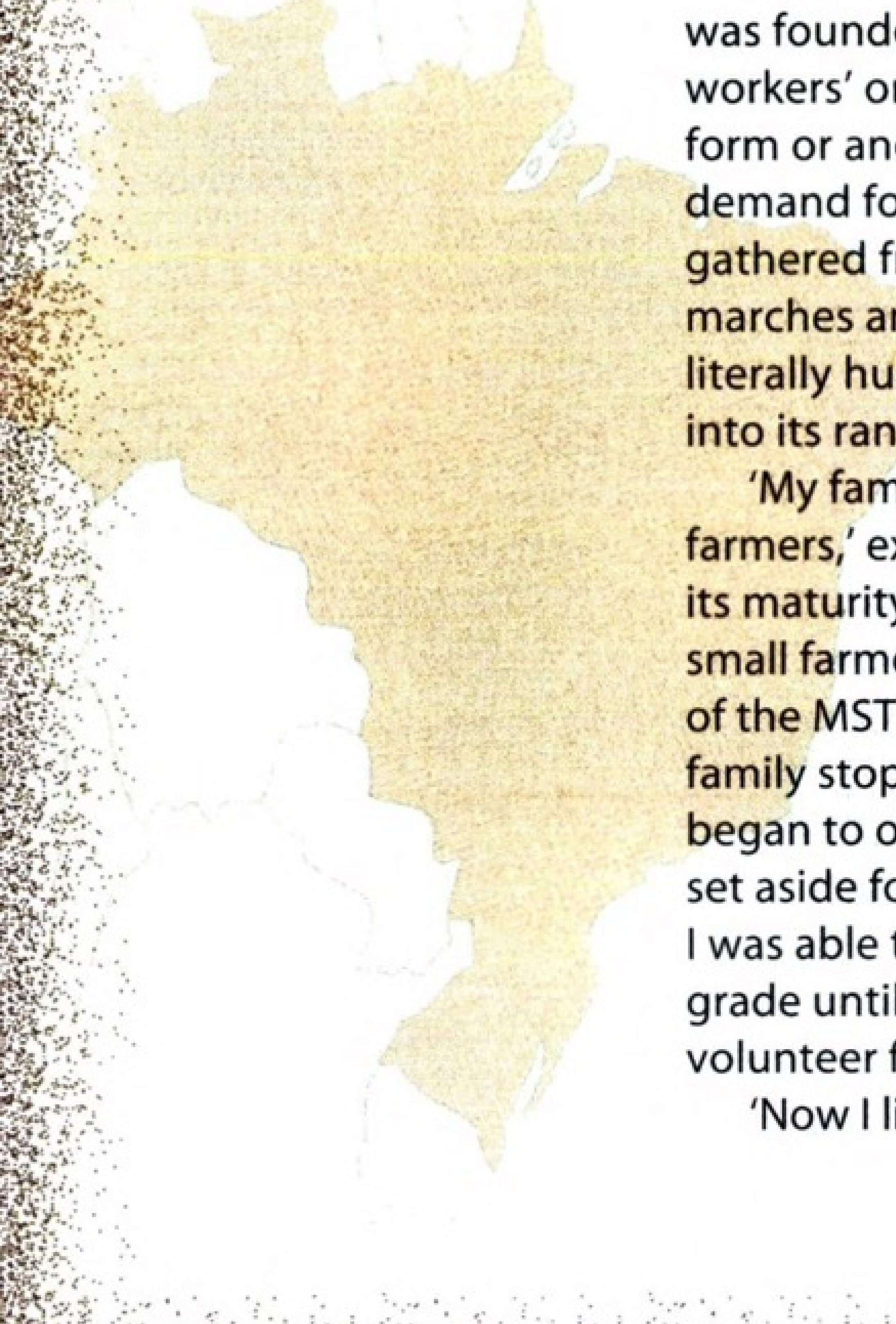
'If you talk of human rights in Brazil,' says Diolinda de Souza, 'we say we have no human rights.'

This may sound a little extreme. After all, the terrible years of military repression that began with a coup in 1964 and left a trail of brutal human-rights abuses in their wake, do seem finally to be over. Current President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, a celebrated sociologist, was democratically elected in a clean election and makes soothing noises, even about the rights of indigenous peoples in the Amazon.

But soothing noises are one thing, the daily lives of rural Brazilians quite another. Nowhere else on earth are such vast tracts of land still owned by such a tiny oligarchy of landowners – *fazendeiros* – with quite such deeply entrenched powers; nowhere else are so many millions of rural people left landless and destitute in a country of such fabulous natural wealth. The last serious attempt at land reform in Brazil was, precisely, in 1964, providing an immediate motive for the military coup. Very little has changed since – except in the mood of rural Brazilians.

'For one thing there's a lot more popular mobilization today,' says Diolinda. 'Also, we live under a "democratic" regime and the Government would not want to threaten the appearance, at least, of democracy. But what the Government does is to try to weaken popular mobilization by persecuting and even killing members of the MST.'

The MST (Movement of Landless Rural Workers) was founded in 1985, though peasant and rural workers' organizations have been around in one form or another for just about as long as the demand for land reform. But in recent years it has gathered fresh momentum, staging land invasions, marches and demonstrations and attracting literally hundreds of thousands of rural Brazilians into its ranks.



'My family is from a background of small farmers,' explains Diolinda, whose striking face, in its maturity, reflects a youthful charm. 'My father is a small farmer in the South East. I first became aware of the MST in 1985, when I was 15 years old. My family stopped working for the *fazendeiros* and began to occupy land. In 1986 we settled on land set aside for "research". Having the land meant that I was able to go to school and I studied for the first grade until 1988, when I began to work as a volunteer for the MST.

'Now I live in a settlement in the western region of São Paulo state. I support the MST because of the history of my family. We were so jubilant after we occupied that land. So I felt a responsibility for the other millions of landless people in Brazil who face hunger every day.'

Injustice does not walk alone – one abuse follows another. And so the *fazendeiros* of Brazil have always employed – and still employ today – the most brutal forms of intimidation against local activists. Such is their power that they are generally able to count on the local police and legal system to do their bidding. Diolinda's partner José Rainha, a local MST leader, discovered this to his cost in 1989, when he was charged with complicity in the murder of a farmer and a military police officer during a land occupation. He had already survived two attempts on his life. The guilty verdict and the sentence appear to have been based more on his membership of the MST than on any convincing proof related to the murder charge.

Amnesty International believes that the charge was politically motivated, that there is no credible evidence against him, and that the trial did not meet international standards of fairness.

'He was sentenced to 26-and-a-half years' imprisonment for a murder which he did not commit,' says Diolinda. 'He was brought to trial and sentenced by the *fazendeiros*. The main prosecution witness said he saw Rainha at the scene of the murders, but his description of Rainha was completely different from what he actually looks like. Prosecution witnesses did not give their testimony before the jury. Of the 21 jurors, 17 owed some kind of allegiance to local landowners. The crime took place in the state of Espirito Santo, but Rainha was in the northern state of Ceará, 1,500 kilometres away; at the time of the murder he was actually in a meeting with the State Governor.'

> ***'He was sentenced to 26-and-a-half years imprisonment for a murder which he did not commit'***

Rainha has not yet been imprisoned but awaits a second trial – automatic if the sentence is more than 20 years. On March 1996 Diolinda herself was detained in a thinly veiled attempt to end her campaign for his release. She was adopted as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International and subsequently freed. With the continuing and regular assassination of activists by hired guns, the threat to Diolinda was real enough. The effect, however, was not exactly what the *fazendeiros* must have intended.

'We are afraid of hunger, yes,' says Diolinda, 'but not of hired guns or governments – or the *fazendeiros*.' ■

David Ransom is an **NI** co-editor.

ARTICLE ELEVEN *(1)* Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to the law in a public trial at which they have had all the guarantees necessary for their defence. (2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at a time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed

The Trojan

South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission reaches the end of its mandate to examine the ugly face of apartheid in July 1998. **Beth Lyons** sat in on its hearings in May 1997.

HUNDREDS of sets of eyes – of parents, schoolchildren, press, international observers – are riveted on a video screen. They are in a hall at the Athlone Technical College, outside Cape Town, South Africa.

On the screen, non-uniformed police officers suddenly jump out of crates in the back of an unmarked truck. The men, armed with rifles, fire shots down a narrow residential street at children coming home from school.

This was the 'Trojan Horse' incident of October 1985 – so called because of similarities to the mythical events in Troy when attacking Greek soldiers were concealed in a wooden horse.

Athlone, a coloured township outside Cape Town, had been a site of community resistance to apartheid in the 1970s and 1980s. In August 1985, 8,000 people marched to nearby Pollsmoor Prison where Nelson Mandela was incarcerated. Police clashed with demonstrators. Over the next two months, police violence resulted in the deaths of more than 50 people. Countless others were injured and there were more than 300 arrests. A State of Emergency had been declared 11 days before the Trojan Horse incident.

On that day, three youths – Michael Miranda (aged 11), Shaun Magmoed (aged 16) and Jonathan Classen (age 21) – were killed and scores were injured. The children were allegedly throwing stones at the police, who testified they had feared for their safety. They said they had been ordered to arrest, not kill.

The audience watching the video of the events more than ten years later is taking part in the public hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The hall they are sitting in is just a block or two from the incident on the screen.

I am standing next to a young reporter in his thirties. He bursts into tears as the video starts. Then 22 years old, he was in Athlone that day in 1985 with the schoolchildren. 'It could have been me', he keeps saying.

A twelve-year-old student – just born when the attack occurred – perceptively points out that there was no room on the truck to put the children whom the police were supposedly going to arrest. And the police team was equipped with ammunition that could kill if fired at close range.

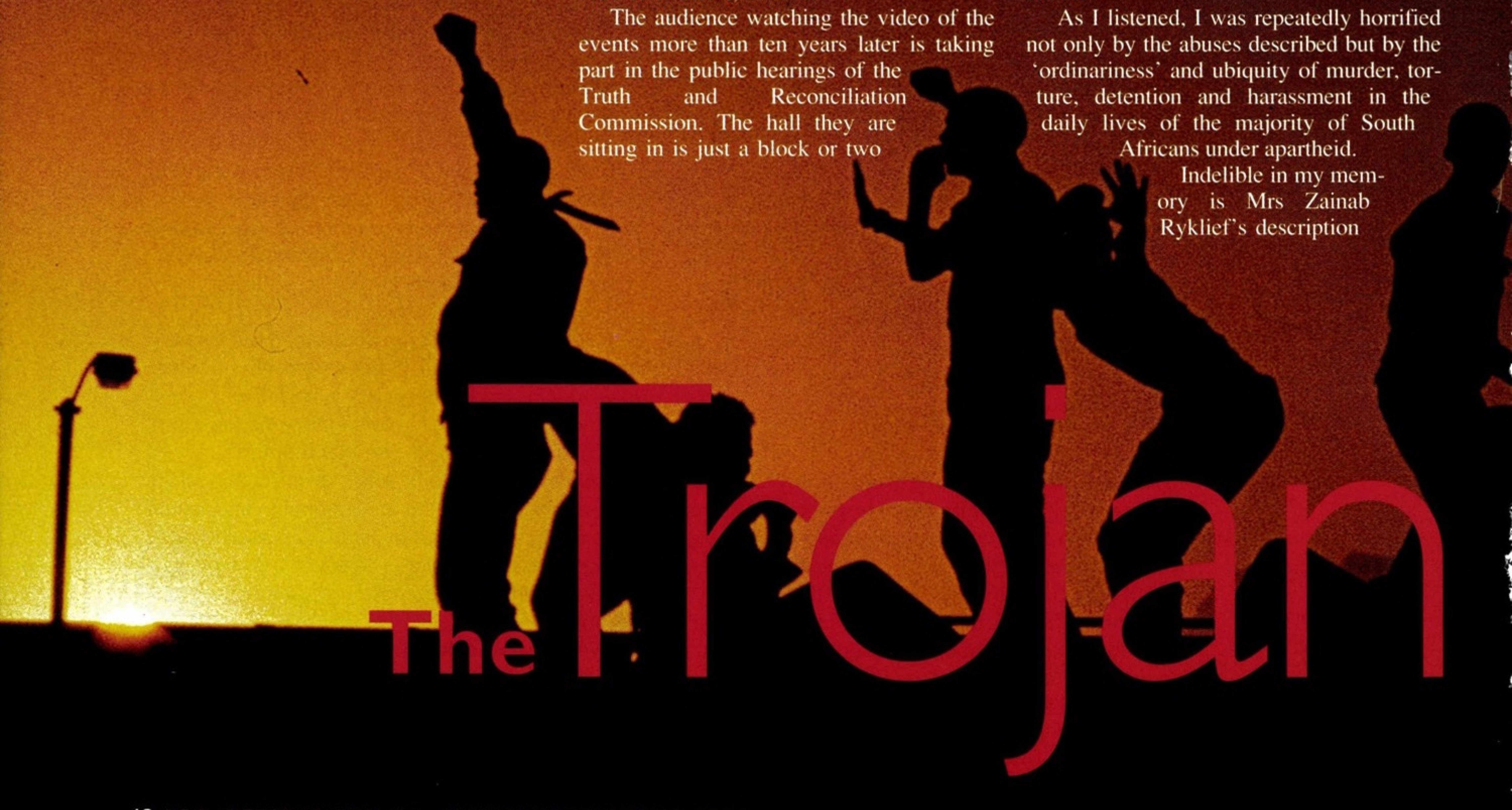
Seven of the police officers in the video are sitting on the stage, looking smug, with no trace of emotion on their faces. They have been subpoenaed to appear. As the Commissioners grill them, the still-angry but disciplined spectators listen to the police responses and mouth the word 'liar' to each other. 'Where are the stones?' they ask in disbelief.

Ten years ago, I am told, this crowd would have wanted to lynch the police officers who murdered their children. But today, this hall is a safe haven. The officers' safety is guaranteed by the community's commitment to a process of building the new democratic South Africa, motivated by *ubuntu* (which, in the words of Commission Chair Archbishop Desmond Tutu, is the 'essence of being human').

The audience includes relatives and friends of the dead and injured children. They testified on the first day of the hearings, recounting the unspeakable horrors they had witnessed and watched loved ones endure.

As I listened, I was repeatedly horrified not only by the abuses described but by the 'ordinariness' and ubiquity of murder, torture, detention and harassment in the daily lives of the majority of South Africans under apartheid.

Indelible in my memory is Mrs Zainab Ryklief's description



BETH LYONS

Never again: pupils in Habibia Primary School attend the hearings.

of opening her home as a shelter for the fearful schoolchildren, running from police. Police pursued the children into her bedroom, shooting. Her bed was full of the children's blood, including that of the dying Shaun Magmoed. Afterwards, she asked her husband to buy a new bed because she could no longer sleep on it.

The focus here is on the 'victims'. But when you listen to witnesses reliving what happened as they tell their stories, they seem rather to be heroes and heroines, the survivors of apartheid.

There have been scores of public hearings of the Commission throughout the country since its inception in April 1996. It was created by an Act of Parliament in order to investigate human-rights violations during the years 1960-94; to restore dignity to the victims through public hearings; to grant amnesty to perpetrators in exchange for full disclosure of the truth – and to recommend to President Mandela reparations for the victims and ways of preventing the abuse of human rights in the future.

Public amnesty hearings take place when gross human-rights violations have occurred; for example the murders of Chris Hani, Steve Biko and countless others. Victims or most often their families are permitted to cross-examine the perpetrators. When amnesty is granted, the perpetrator is immune from civil and criminal liability. The amnesty hearings are not trials. They do not mete out punishment, nor do they transform the truths revealed into justice.

But no officer testifying at the Trojan Horse hearings had applied for amnesty. They were obviously convinced of their innocence, perhaps buttressed by the refusal in the late 1980s of the Attorney-General of the Cape to prosecute the Trojan Horse task force. At a prior inquest in February 1989, the magistrate found the task force negligent and held that they caused the three deaths. The Magmoed and Miranda families then launched the first private prosecution in South African history but were unsuccessful.

These legal failures to win justice and to punish the police made many witnesses reluctant to go through yet another proceeding. The Commission had to persuade many to come forward to testify.

The community's scepticism about the outcome of the Commission's endeavours is still strong. It is epitomized by Mrs Amina Abrahams, whose sons Toyer and Ashraf were shot and injured by police. Asked by a Commissioner after giving her testimony if she had any questions, she replied: 'Do you think these police who murdered our children could protect this current generation? How can a police officer who shot a six-year-old protect our children?'

This query targets what is on the minds of many. It is the pivotal question enveloping the whole Commission. Can the revelations and knowledge of the truth help transform, train and re-educate people so that these abuses will not recur in the future? How can truth contribute to building a truly just society?

Openly confronting the past is only one step towards reconciliation. Most often, it is the victims who are willing to reconcile. People like Babalwa Mhlawuli, aged 19. Her father Sicelo was abducted and murdered by police, and at the hearings in East London she said imploringly: 'I want to forgive, but I do not know who to forgive.'

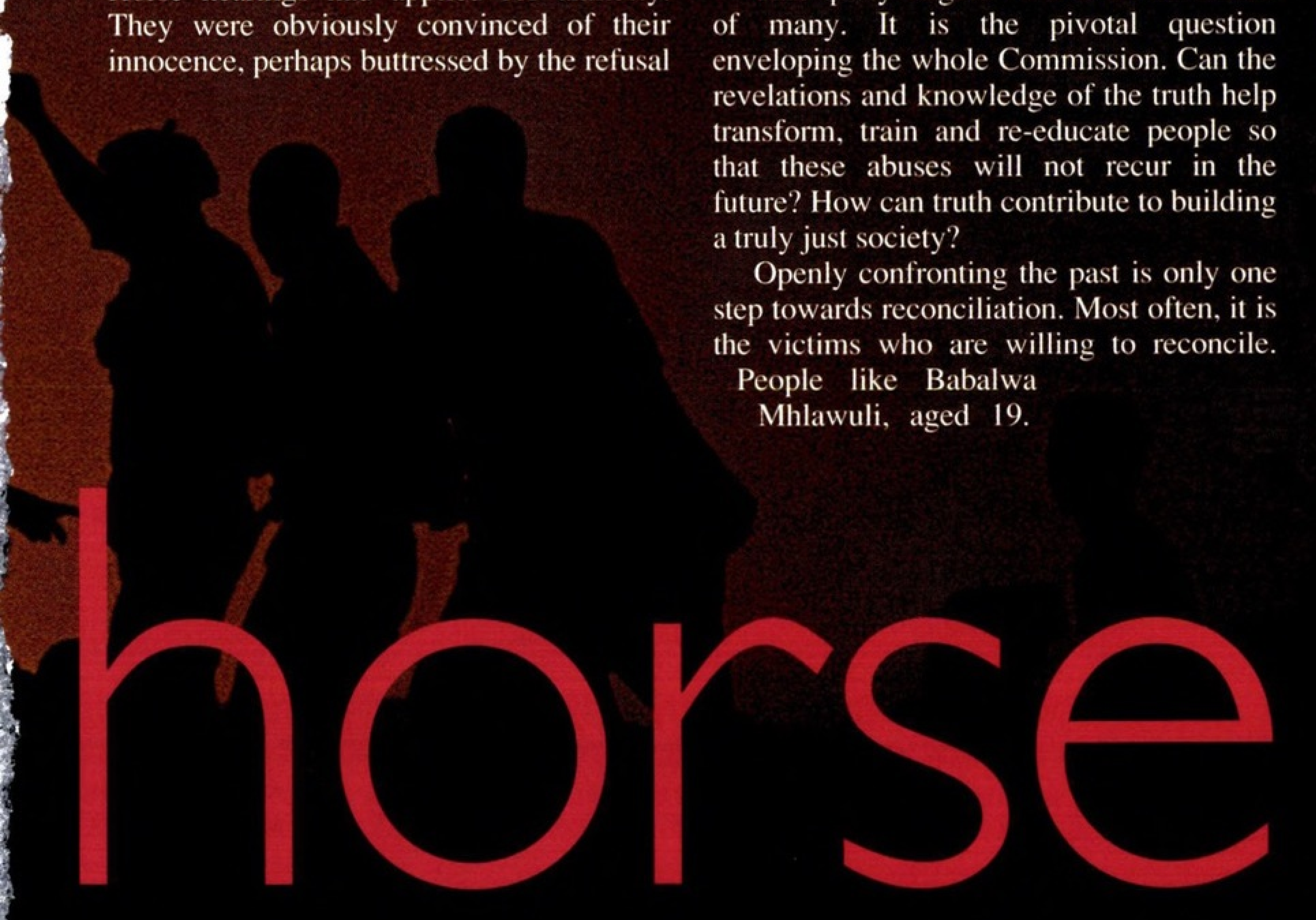
But reconciliation is a two-way street. It is the perpetrators, many of whom are still in positions of authority, who must accept responsibility for their actions. Reconciliation must be based on economic justice for the majority of South Africans.

The Commission, televized nightly, is changing the political landscape of South Africa. Not just for the more than 14,000 'victims' who have given statements, or the 8,000 perpetrators who have applied for amnesty, but for the rest of the country.

Riefaat Hattas is a former student leader who was detained and tortured by the security police in the 1980s. He was forced to watch his comrades being beaten. Today, still traumatized, in treatment and unable to work, his words ring out loudly at the Children's and Youth hearings immediately following those of the Trojan Horse. His testimony is repeatedly halted by his tears: 'Sometimes I lie awake at night and wish I could have been born again to live a normal life. The National Party should take responsibility for destroying and ruining our lives.' He ends with a plea to the children present: 'Make the most of your normal lives. You owe it to us.'

Among those applauding is Tasneem Parkar, a pupil at nearby Habibia Primary School, whose class is attending the hearings with Moehreeg Abader, their teacher. She looks at me earnestly and says: 'If I had the chance to ask those police one question it would be: "How can you go on with your lives and have your family respect you when you have taken another child's life? What if it were your child?" I hope that in the new South Africa something like this will never happen again.' ■

Beth Lyons is an activist and lawyer, currently an alternate representative to the UN for the International Association of Democratic Lawyers.



horse

- **1,750 children under the age of 18 died in political violence between 1960 and 1989.**
- **Between 1990 and 1994, another 517 children lost their lives.**
- **Of an estimated 80,000 people detained without trial under apartheid, about 20,000 or 25 per cent were children. At least a quarter of them were tortured while in detention.**

Statistics submitted to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission by the Human Rights Committee, formerly the Detainees' Parents Support Group.

REZA / FRANK SPOONER

Foreign bodies

Have you ever had the experience of being in a foreign country and feeling distinctly uncomfortable, definitely unwanted? Peace Brigades International (PBI) volunteers have this feeling most of the time. But rather than wanting to leave, it is the reason they are there in the first place, accompanying people whose lives are under threat or observing in situations of fear. Committed to non-violent resistance, their approach is low-key. But it saves lives. Humberto Centeno, a trade unionist in El Salvador, was clear about the role of the volunteers: 'I was accompanied 24 hours a day. I can say categorically that being accompanied by foreigners in this way is one of the reasons I am alive today.' **Luis Enrique Eguren** outlines a day in the life of PBI.

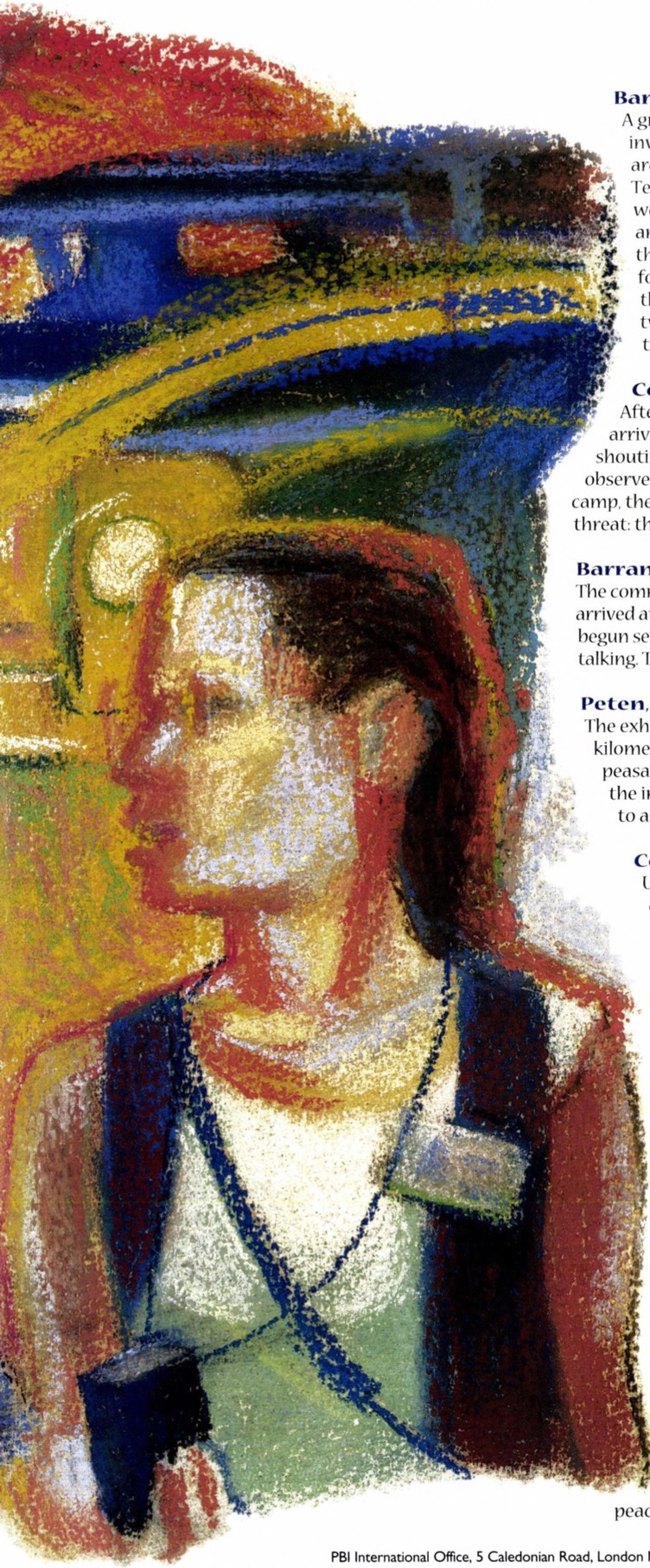
Colombo, Sri Lanka, 5.00 am.

A refugee camp. Almut and Pete, members of the team in Sri Lanka, arrive at the camp at the request of the refugees. There's been a threat, from irregular paramilitary forces, that the refugees will be thrown out of the camp so that it can be removed. Almut and Pete are the only international presence, and they place themselves at the entrance to the camp, in a clearly visible position. Some local journalists turn up. They all wait.

Peten, Guatemala, 6.00 am.

A mountainous region, more than 20 hours from the capital by four-wheel drive. Members of various Guatemalan organizations and a forensic team are excavating a mass grave. In it are the presumed victims of army massacres dating back to the early 1980s. Emma and Judith, members of PBI in Guatemala, are there as international observers.

It's the beginning of the third day's work. Anonymous threats against the work team have not been translated into action, as yet. Peasants have begun to trickle in from the surrounding area; among them are those who have broadcast the existence of this tomb. They want an investigation, at last, of the facts, after long years of silence.



Barrancabermeja, Colombia, 8.00 am.
A group of people from local organizations are on their way to investigate claims of massive violations of human rights in a remote area, several hours by road from the nearest town. Francisco and Tessa, from PBI Colombia, join as international observers. The area is well known as a confrontation zone between guerrillas, the army and paramilitary forces. The paramilitaries have made death threats against 'that human rights lot', saying that 'we'll eat them for breakfast if they show their faces here'. Despite these threats, the commission and the international 'accompaniment' set out in two vehicles towards the area. They have given prior notice of their trip to the civil and military authorities.

Colombo, 11.30 am.
After several hours of waiting in the morning heat, two vehicles arrive with armed people in military dress. They enter the camp shouting, but their attitude changes on seeing the international observers and the press. After a tense meeting with the refugees in the camp, the paramilitaries leave, visibly put out and not without issuing a threat: they will soon be back to evict the refugees once and for all.

Barrancabermeja 13.00 pm.
The commission of investigation and its international accompaniment have arrived at their destination. The Colombian organizations have already begun several interviews with local inhabitants, who show great fear of talking. Threats permeate the atmosphere.

Peten, 14.00 pm.
The exhumation takes its course. Shots are heard little more than a kilometre away, which causes unease among those present. The peasants say it is the army, firing into the air to frighten them. One of the international observers and a member of the forensic team set off to ask the nearby army post what is going on.

Colombo, 15.00 pm
Urgent meeting of the PBI team. Since the situation in the refugee camp appears serious they decide to tell the project office (in Oxford, England) to activate the Emergency Response Network, so that the Sri Lankan authorities can be pushed into intervening.

Barrancabermeja, 16.00 pm.
The investigating commission and the observers set out on the return journey. A military patrol intercepts them along the way and interrogates them with some hostility. The patrol talks by radio with its commanders. Eventually the commission and the observers continue their journey.

Peten, 17.00 pm
The work team finishes for the day. The PBI observer and the member of the forensic team return from their visit to the military base: no-one there knows what the reason for the shots might be, but they will look into it. The atmosphere is very tense. PBI calls its office in the city of Guatemala to stand by in case anything happens.

Bogotá, 20.00 pm
The PBI team receives a call from an organization of lawyers working on human rights: one of its members has been detained. Since this lawyer has already received many threats, the organization asks PBI to visit the police station and ascertain his physical condition: two PBI people accompany a lawyer to the police station. The night will be a long one. One more among so many. The hope for better times and greater peace always remains. That is, precisely, what they are working for.

ILLUSTRATION BY SARAH JOHN

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Luis Enrique Eguren and Liam Mahoney have written a book on PBI, *Unarmed Bodyguards: International Accompaniment for the Protection of Human Rights* (Kumarian Press, 1997).

Article 5.
No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Gay men and women have not been granted equal rights. They face discrimination, harassment and even murder. And yet no-one wants to talk about it – particularly in the developing world. **Ignacio Saiz** reports on the forgotten victims.

Tsitsi TIRIPANO
(Appeal Cases – UDHR Campaign 1997)
Member of the Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ) organization. Discriminated against for supporting the Human Rights of gays and lesbians.

The right that dares not speak its n

OSCAR WILDE is perhaps history's best-known gay 'prisoner of conscience'. He was imprisoned at the close of the nineteenth century for having sex with other men. The recent film of his life celebrates his stature as an artist and intellectual and ensures that 100 years later the injustices committed against him are still remembered.

As we approach the end of the twentieth century, men and women around the globe continue to be imprisoned, murdered and ill-treated solely because of their sexual orientation. But the vast majority of cases rarely provoke international outrage. Very often, the facts never even come to light and abuses against lesbians and gay men are not reported. Unlike Wilde, they are forgotten victims.

There are many reasons why this persecution is shrouded in silence. Many of those targeted live on the margins of society and have no resources with which to defend themselves.

Take the example of 18-year-old José Miguel dos Santos, a gay male sex worker from the city of Maceió in the Brazilian state of Alagoas. Living on the margins of society and the law, he and other sex workers in the area were at the mercy of the local civil police who were said to be running a protection racket among the prostitutes. In the early hours of 6 June, he and two transvestite sex workers were found dead. They had been shot in the head. The motive for the killing appears to be that the three had not paid their 'fee' of $10 a night to the police.

Those who dare to speak out against such abuses themselves become targets. On 18 June 1997, Pedro Montenegro, Director of the Permanent Forum against Violence in Alagoas and Board member of Amnesty International's Brazilian Section, and Marcelo Nascimento, co-ordinator of the Grupo Gay de Alagoas, both received anonymous telephone calls. They were told they would be killed if they continued to call for investigations into the killings of the sex workers.

Three other transvestite sex workers were detained in Maceio on 10 June for alleged non-payment of fees to the police. They reported that the police beat them with rubber sandals studded with nails and subjected them to humiliating treatment, including being forced to clean the station. On their release, all said they were too frightened to make an official complaint and they went into hiding. The Maceio Civil Police said they would only open an inquiry if the victims made an official complaint.

Fear of reprisals and lack of trust in the authorities are not the only reasons why abuses go unreported. The taboo surrounding homosexuality means that the social consequences for victims of making their sexual orientation public can be crushing, as can the sense of isolation that comes from having no advocates to mobilize

Marcelo **NASCIMIENTO**
(Appeal Cases – UDHR Campaign 1997)
July 1997. **Member of FPCU-AL and President of Grupo Gay de Alagoas.** Death threats for denouncing killings of homosexuals.

support on their behalf.

Two young gay men from the Romanian town of Timisoara, Mirel Ciprian Cucu and Milorad Mutascu, who had been living together in a flat, were arrested in January 1993. Mirel Cucu was charged with having sexual relations with a person of the same sex. Milorad Mutascu was charged with relations with a minor (a heterosexual relationship between people of the same ages as Cucu and Mutascu would have been lawful). They received suspended sentences of one and two years respectively. The two men also faced vilification in the official police newspaper which published their names, photographs and addresses even before formal charges had been brought against them. The paper described their relationship as a 'social danger'. Milorad Mutascu was subsequently unable to find work because of his 'criminal' record. Two years after his trial, he committed suicide.

Abuses against lesbians are perpetuated and concealed by a double layer of discrimination based on gender as well as sexual orientation. Tsitsi Tiripano knows the price of lesbian visibility. She and other members of Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ) were threatened by members of an anti-gay pressure group who attacked their stand at the Harare International Book Fair in 1996. The group burned GALZ literature and threatened violence against GALZ members. GALZ and the Book Fair organizers sought police protection. Their request went unheeded. Virulent articles about GALZ appeared in the national press, which published Tsitsi's photo. Shortly after, she fled to her rural hometown where she was greeted by angry protesters bearing placards saying: 'No lesbians here.'

Governments deploy a range of tactics to keep abuses under wraps and to evade accountability. In countries where homosexuality is not criminalized, gay men and lesbians may be at risk of arrest on vague or bogus criminal charges which conceal the real reason for their detention. Charges of 'hooliganism' and 'unruly behaviour' have been used in this way in the past in China – as with 'vagrancy' in Venezuela and 'dangerousness' in Cuba. Another tactic is the privatization of murder. Killings are committed by private individuals acting with official collusion. The authorities wash their hands of all responsibility, but systematically fail to take action against the perpetrators.

While some governments attempt to disguise persecution, others blatantly boast about it, justifying killings, torture and imprisonment of sexual minorities in the name of religion, ideology, public morality or national sovereignty. Far from denying responsibility, they deny that such practices are even human-rights violations. Governments from America to Zimbabwe have claimed – implicitly or explicitly – that human-rights statutes do not apply to gay men and lesbians.

Thus the US Supreme Court found in 1986 that Georgia's 'sodomy' law did not violate fundamental rights because the Constitution did not confer a 'fundamental right of homosexuals to engage in sodomy', described in the judgement as 'immoral and unacceptable' and 'a crime not fit to be named'. Zimbabwe's President Mugabe put it more succinctly in a speech decrying homosexuals in 1995: 'I don't believe they have any rights at all.'

Such statements not only serve to justify and encourage attacks on sexual minorities, they are also an attack on basic human-rights principles. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was a response to the atrocities of the Second World War, when gay men and lesbians were targeted for extermination along with Jews, gypsies and the disabled. The progress made since then in combating discrimination on such grounds as sex or race has not been matched in the area of sexual orientation. International treaties aimed at eliminating racial and gender discrimination were adopted by the UN in the 1960s and 1970s. And yet discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is not yet explicitly prohibited or even mentioned in any international standard.

This legal invisibility has traditionally been a barrier to action by the international human-rights movement. Inaction has also been justified in the name of cultural relativism: asserting universal gay and lesbian rights is seen by some as imposing Western values on cultures who construct sexual and social relationships differently.

But the 1990s have seen encouraging signs that such obstacles to universal activism for the recognition of gay and lesbian rights are being overcome. More and more voices are breaking the silence surrounding the repression. These voices are increasingly coming from the South. GALZ is just one of a host of organizations which have emerged in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East to combat discrimination and violence against sexual minorities. Their existence is the most eloquent response to the cultural relativists. They are campaigning to give concrete meaning in their own context to the universal human-rights principles of dignity, equality and freedom from discrimination.

Recent precedent-setting interpretations by international human-rights bodies have confirmed that the universal duty of non-discrimination should be understood to include sexual orientation. In 1994 the UN Committee found that provisions of the Tasmanian Criminal Code criminalizing consensual same-sex relations in private violated the right to privacy and the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of sex, recognized in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

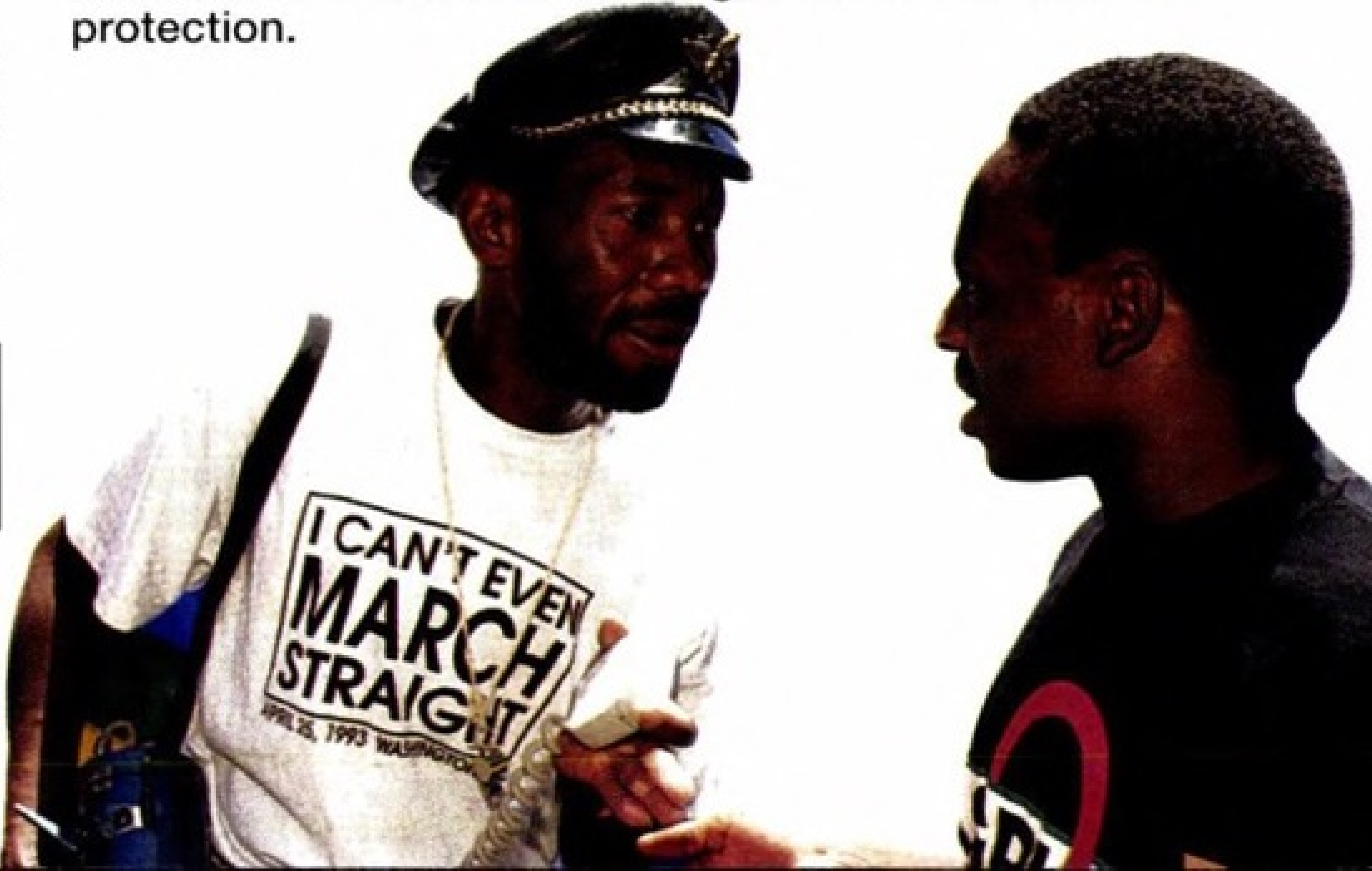
In the area of refugee law, more and more states have recognized that people fleeing persecution on the basis of their sexual orientation are entitled to protection under the UN Refugee Convention. Though the number of refugees who have successfully claimed asylum on this basis is relatively low, such cases encourage greater international awareness of the plight of sexual minorities in different parts of the world. This awareness, in turn, has contributed to another important development: the strengthening of international gay and lesbian solidarity.

The taboo surrounding homosexuality means that the social consequences for victims of making their sexual orientation public can be crushing

The cases from Brazil, Romania and Zimbabwe mentioned above are merely more dramatic illustrations of the broader discrimination and prejudice sexual minorities face worldwide. In no country have lesbians and gay men achieved full equality before the law. Even where their basic rights to life and liberty are respected, other fundamental civil, social and economic rights are systematically denied them. Gays and lesbian activists around the world are therefore part of the same struggle. As more spheres of activity become 'globalized', opportunities for greater co-operation are emerging.

These trends give grounds for optimism that the twenty-first century will see sexual-minority rights clearly and unequivocally recognized – just as women's rights have been recognized. This is not asking for 'special' treatment, but merely to demand respect for the inalienable right of all human beings to equality and dignity.

Ignacio Saiz is Mandate Co-ordinator at the International Secretariat of Amnesty International. *Breaking the Silence* (Amnesty UK 1997) documents dozens of cases of violations against gay men and lesbians and offers guidelines for their protection.


I CAN'T EVEN MARCH STRAIGHT

ERIC MILLER / PANOS

Marching on: gay rights activists protest in South Africa.

HUMAN RIGHTS – THE FACTS

The world is very different now from the one in which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was drawn up in 1948. Countries have a responsibility to the international community and must answer for their actions – even if this doesn't stop widespread abuses of human rights.

Treaties (on trial)

Ratification of major human-rights conventions, 1 March 1997 [1]

Convention	*Countries that have ratified or acceded*	*Countries that have not ratified or acceded*
Prevention and punishment of genocide, 1948	120	72
Convention on the status of refugees, 1951	125	67
Economic, social and cultural rights, 1966	135	57
Civil and political rights, 1966	136	56
Elimination of discrimination against women, 1979	153	39
Convention against torture, 1984	102	90
Rights of the child, 1989	190	2

Since the Universal Declaration there have been a number of treaties relating to human rights. The majority of countries have now signed up to these. Major exceptions include the US, which has not ratified the treaties on the rights of the child nor on women, nor those on economic, social and cultural rights. Switzerland and Afghanistan are among the countries which have not acceded to the convention on women. The convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment has been accepted by little more than half the world's nations, with Indonesia, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan and Belgium among the objectors.

Indigenous peoples

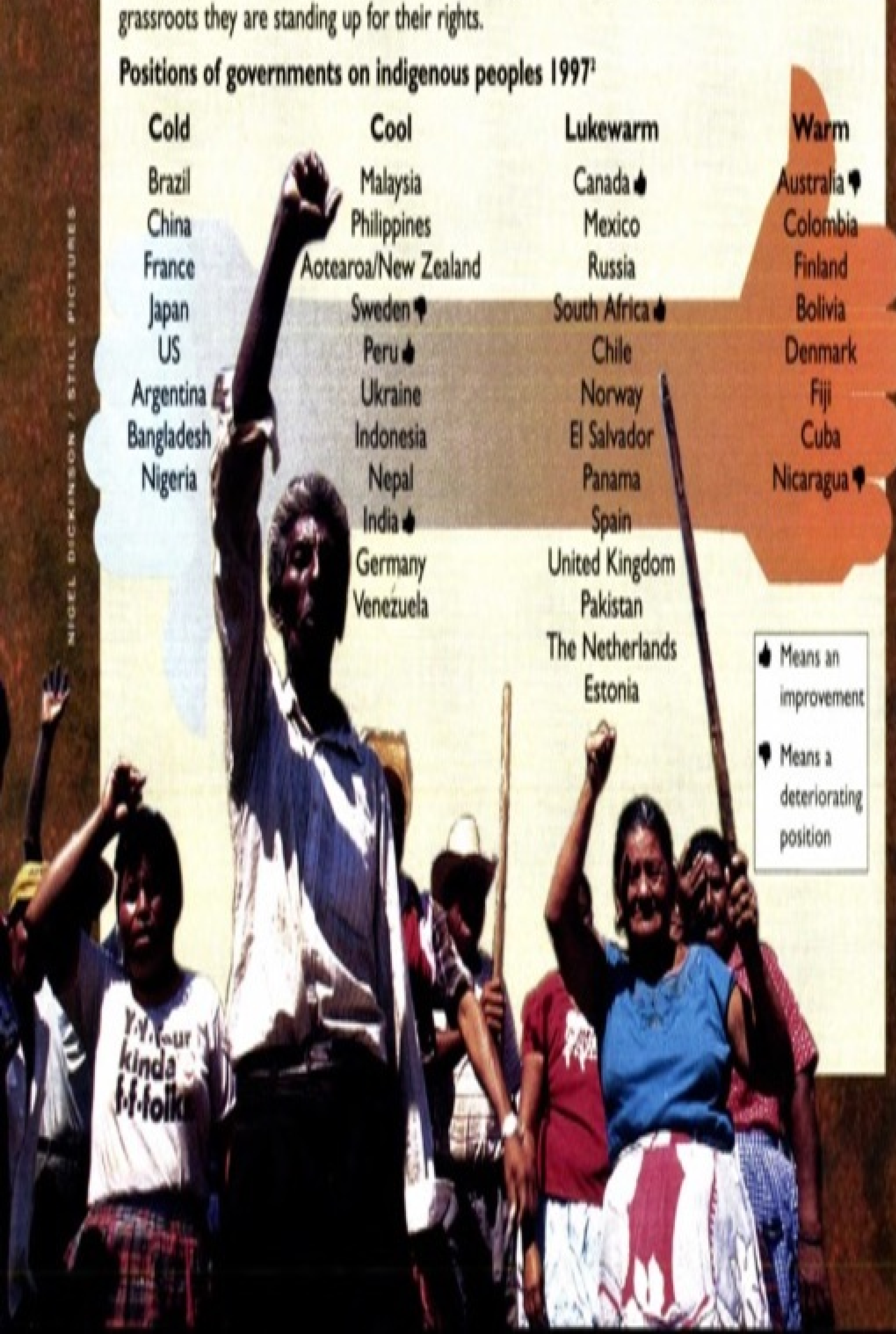
Indigenous peoples have their livelihoods threatened, their lands taken away and their cultures colonized. Thousands of groups have been wiped off the face of the earth; their way of living destroyed and their languages gone forever. But they have not given up; from UN level to the grassroots they are standing up for their rights.

Positions of governments on indigenous peoples 1997 [2]

Cold	Cool	Lukewarm	Warm
Brazil	Malaysia	Canada 👍	Australia 👎
China	Philippines	Mexico	Colombia
France	Aotearoa/New Zealand	Russia	Finland
Japan	Sweden 👎	South Africa 👍	Bolivia
US	Peru 👍	Chile	Denmark
Argentina	Ukraine	Norway	Fiji
Bangladesh	Indonesia	El Salvador	Cuba
Nigeria	Nepal	Panama	Nicaragua 👎
	India 👍	Spain	
	Germany	United Kingdom	
	Venezuela	Pakistan	
		The Netherlands	
		Estonia	

👍 Means an improvement

👎 Means a deteriorating position



NIGEL DICKINSON / STILL PICTURES

JENNY MATTHEWS / NETWORK

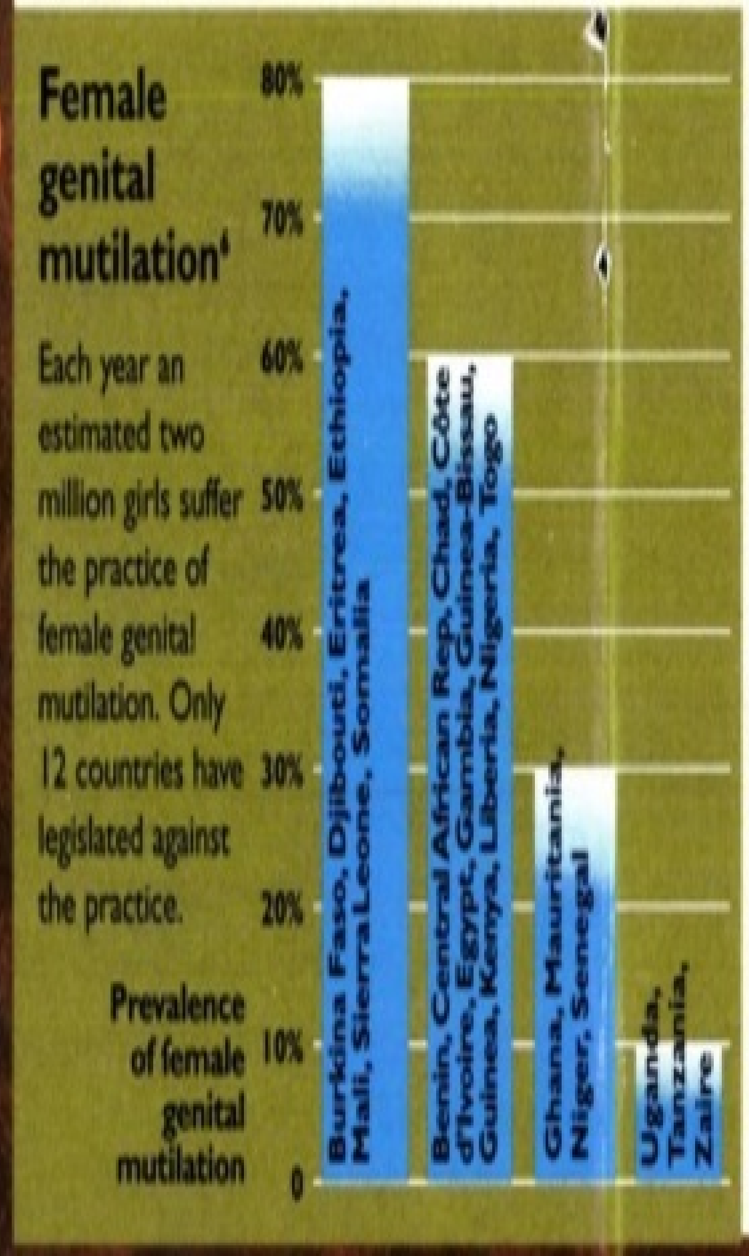
Violence against women

Violence against women, in the home and outside it, is a global phenomenon. Worldwide, more than 20 per cent of women experience some degree of domestic violence during marriage. Women and children are the primary victims of today's wars.

- ◆ In a survey of 796 Japanese women, 77% reported that they had experienced some form of domestic battery. 58.7 % of the sample reported physical abuse and 59.4% reported sexual abuse.[3]
- ◆ In South Africa, the Women's Bureau estimates that one in four women is beaten by her male partner.
- ◆ In the US a woman is beaten every 15 seconds.[4]

Female genital mutilation[6]

Each year an estimated two million girls suffer the practice of female genital mutilation. Only 12 countries have legislated against the practice.



- ◆ In Britain, more than 25% of violent crimes reported to the police are domestic violence of men against women, making it the second most common violent crime.
- ◆ Rape as a weapon of war has become more evident in recent conflicts. In Rwanda from April 1994 to April 1995 at least 250,000 women and girls were raped.[5]

But...

- ◆ 44 countries have passed laws against domestic violence.
- ◆ 17 countries have made marital rape a criminal offence.
- ◆ 27 countries have passed sexual harassment laws.

Disability [7]

JACQUES DANOIS / UNICEF

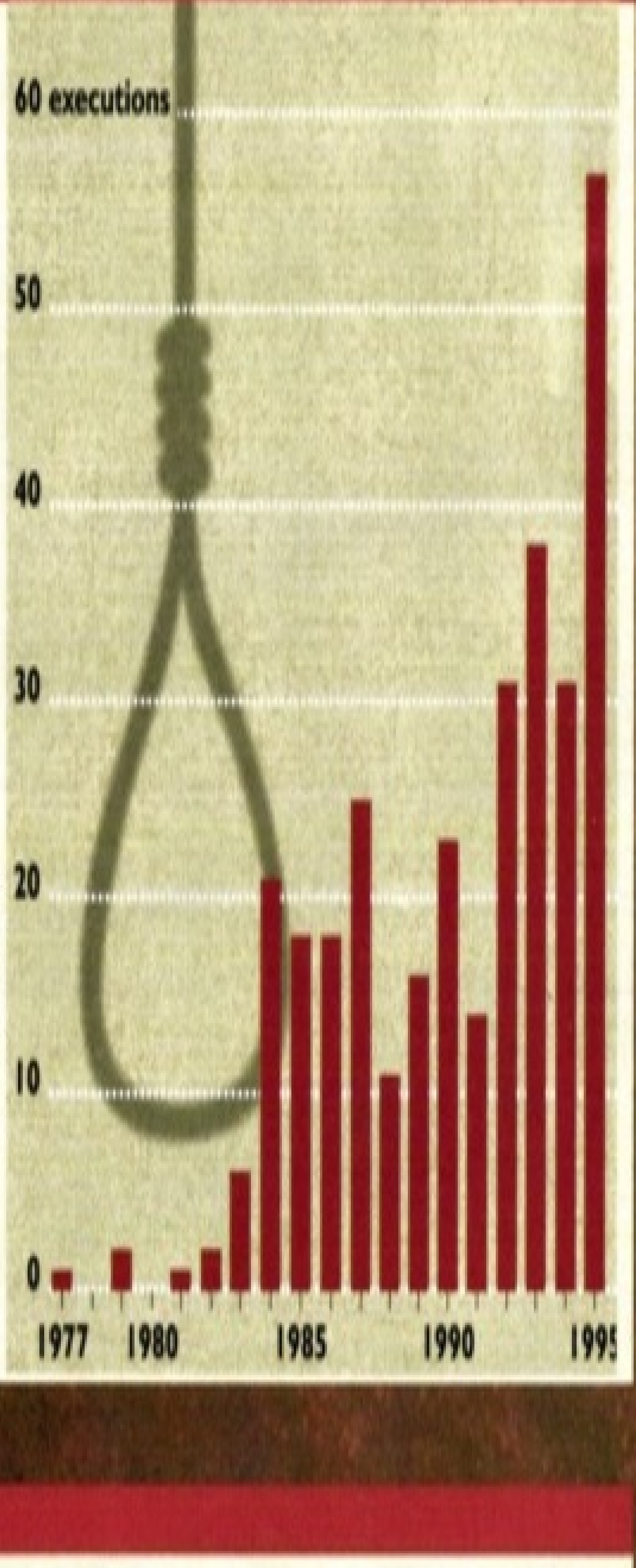
'Disability is a human-rights issue' says the UN, which in 1992 adopted a World Programme of Action concerning Disabled Persons. In 1993 they produced the Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities. Although not legally enforceable, these offer an international instrument with a monitoring system. But they require strong political and practical commitment by governments.

- ◆ 75% of disabled people live in developing countries. 100 million have impairments caused by malnutrition; in some countries over 50% of these are due to disease or war.
- ◆ 98% of disabled people in developing countries have no rehabilitation.
- ◆ 20 million people who need wheelchairs are without them.
- ◆ In some countries disabled people are barred from standing for political office.
- ◆ In Canada and Australia, 41% of disabled people receive only primary education.
- ◆ In the UK and the US, 67% of disabled people aged 15-64 are unemployed.

Death penalty

During 1996 at least 4,272 prisoners were executed in 39 countries and 7,107 were sentenced to death in 76 countries. These were the figures known to Amnesty International; the true figures are certainly higher. But there are now 58 nations which have abolished the death penalty; plus 15 which have abolished it for all but exceptional circumstances. There are an additional 27 which have the death penalty but have not used it for ten years.

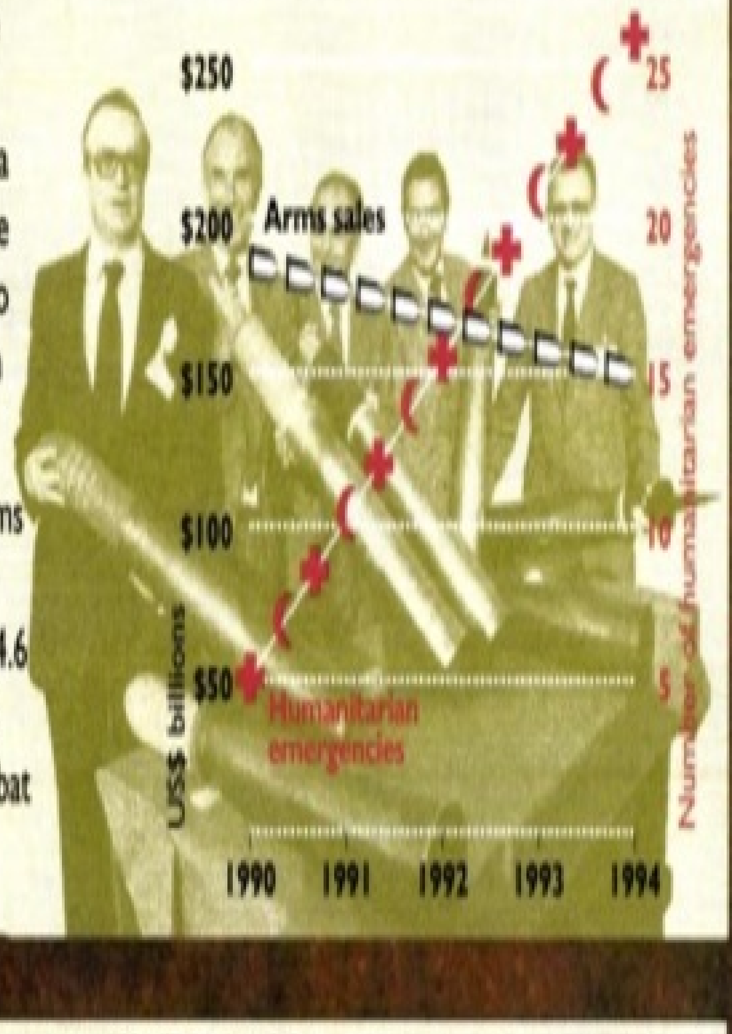
The graph shows the number of executions carried out each year in the US since the death penalty was reinstated by the Supreme Court in 1976.[8]



Conflict [9]

Since the end of the Cold War there have been at least 30 major armed conflicts (more than 1,000 deaths in a year). Humanitarian emergencies have increased from 5 a year in 1985-89 to 26 in 1994 – with a slight decrease in 1995.

And yet... the world is disarming. Arms sales have dropped, there are fewer soldiers in the world – down from 24.6 million in 1994 to 23 million in 1995. The number of battle tanks and combat aircraft has also dropped.[10]



SVEN SIMON / CAMERA PRESS

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1 UN Center for Human Rights, 1997. 2 *The Indigenous World 1996-97*, IWGIA. 3 Domestic Violence Action and Research Group, Tokyo 1994. 4 US Bureau of Justice. 5 UN Special Rapporteur on Rwanda. 6 *The World's Women 1995*, UNDPI. 7 *Information Kit on the United Nations Standard Rules*, Disability Awareness in Action, 1995. 8 The Death Penalty Information Center, Washington. 9 *World Development Report 1997*, World Bank. 10 *Vital Signs 1997/8*, Earthscan/Worldwatch Institute.

The heart of being human

'Human rights' is such a common phrase that we no longer hear its deep echoes, no longer see its burning light. **Todd Gitlin** takes us on a philosophical journey through liberty, equality and common sense.

HUMAN rights: the literal words deserve a moment's scrutiny. Human: member of the species, the single race *homo sapiens*. Whatever persons are called, or call themselves, wherever they live, they are human. Therefore human rights: benefits to which people are entitled simply by virtue of being human.

The very fact that 'human rights' has become a catch-phrase, that it is inscribed on picket signs and diplomatic agendas everywhere, that the rights generate passions and motivate organizations like Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and Médécins sans Frontières, even that these rights are frequently honored in the breach, represents a human achievement of enormous proportions. The very lip service of governments is a measure that a value has achieved a certain legitimacy. Lip service is the tribute that vice pays to virtue.

ARTICLE 28. EVERYONE IS ENTITLED TO A SOCIAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORDER IN WHICH THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS SET FORTH IN THIS DECLARATION CAN BE FULLY REALIZED.

The fact that there exists a Universal Declaration of Human Rights – called 'universal' rather than 'international' to indicate that these rights pertain to human beings everywhere by virtue of their humanity, not by virtue of the existence of nation-states – is monumental. The Universal Declaration is an unprecedented affirmation of the unity of the human race, and a weapon against all who would usurp. That this Declaration is taken more seriously today than when it was adopted 50 years ago is all the more remarkable. The Declaration is a resource in the hands of the unjustly deprived everywhere. It affirms that rights are, in language taken from the American Declaration of Independence, 'inalienable' – they cannot legitimately be rescinded or given up.

But obviously such high-flown claims immediately run up against the world's real and specific differences. There are immense material differences, observable from the outside, in human condition, health, longevity and so forth. We live in a period when people perceive and strongly assert other differences as well – differences experienced from the inside. These are differences in the answers people give to the question: 'Who are you?'

'Identity' is the term in current use, and the common answers include understandings of nationality, 'race', religion, sex, sexuality. These identities, with the exception of sexual matters, are all products of social life; they are not natural. They change, and they are multiple – a person 'is' many things at the same time. But this is not to say their understandings, these labels, are casual, superficial. People live them deeply. To be Jew or Muslim, Serb or Croat, Greek or Macedonian, is a matter of passion – it tells to whom people feel connected deep down. This is who I am. Existence for most people feels local and partial more than universal.

So the fact that governments have agreed on paper about the nature of human rights only begins the debate, for the nub is that people disagree about exactly what constitutes human rights, and they disagree because their attachment to human universality is weaker than their attachments to partial and local identities, and thus divergent interpretations of what they, as particular human beings, need. Many would argue today that human rights are not an ensemble but a list, and even more, a zero-sum game: that, in the realest of real worlds, choices must be made. Human rights do not constitute, in this view, an indissoluble chain. Security trumps free expression, for example, or vice versa.

In particular, the charge is frequently made that freedom of expression or association is 'Western'. What does this mean exactly? There is an argument from origins (these rights come from the West and are therefore colonialist) and an argument from power (these rights ratify and rationalize the power of the West and the rich).

Take the two arguments separately. It is undeniable that the concept emerged in the West – although as an oppositional force, not an official doctrine. Insofar as human rights achieved formal recognition, it was because they were forced upon official authority from below, by popular demand. The American Bill of Rights, for example, was added to the Constitution in 1789 as a concession to anti-Federalist forces and states that would not have approved a Constitution without them. But what do origins have to do with validity? The concept of zero originated in Egypt, but a

IAN MOORE

Christian or Jewish mathematician from the United States is not entitled to dismiss it. All ideas occur to someone somewhere and circulate from there before they occur to others in other places, but where they crop up first has no bearing on their truth (or falsehood). As there is (whatever the Nazis thought) no 'Jewish science', and (whatever the Stalinists thought) no 'bourgeois biology', there are no 'Western human rights'.

By the same token, the fact that certain arguments have been deployed by the powerful first does not mean that they would not also work to the advantage of the less powerful. History is replete with examples of a principle once reserved to élites but subsequently generalized by large populations to their advantage. The rights of lords to property or education, once exclusive or close to exclusive, were later claimed by serfs. In time, slaves appropriated the rights of their masters to literacy and women the rights of men. The rights of owners were appropriated by workers – all at great cost, and all to the benefit of society as a whole.

It might help guide current debates if all parties could accept some common ground. Human rights of free speech, political assembly, religion and so on are often denied by dictatorships in the name of national self-determination; they claim that the nation-state is a guarantor of social equality or solidarity that would be jeopardized by liberty rights. Yet the claims of liberty on the one hand and self-determination on the other share a common root. They are predicated, in the language of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in 'recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family'. The rights of the individual – of all individuals everywhere, equally – are also the foundation of collective rights, for example, the right of national self-determination, religious practice, and so forth.

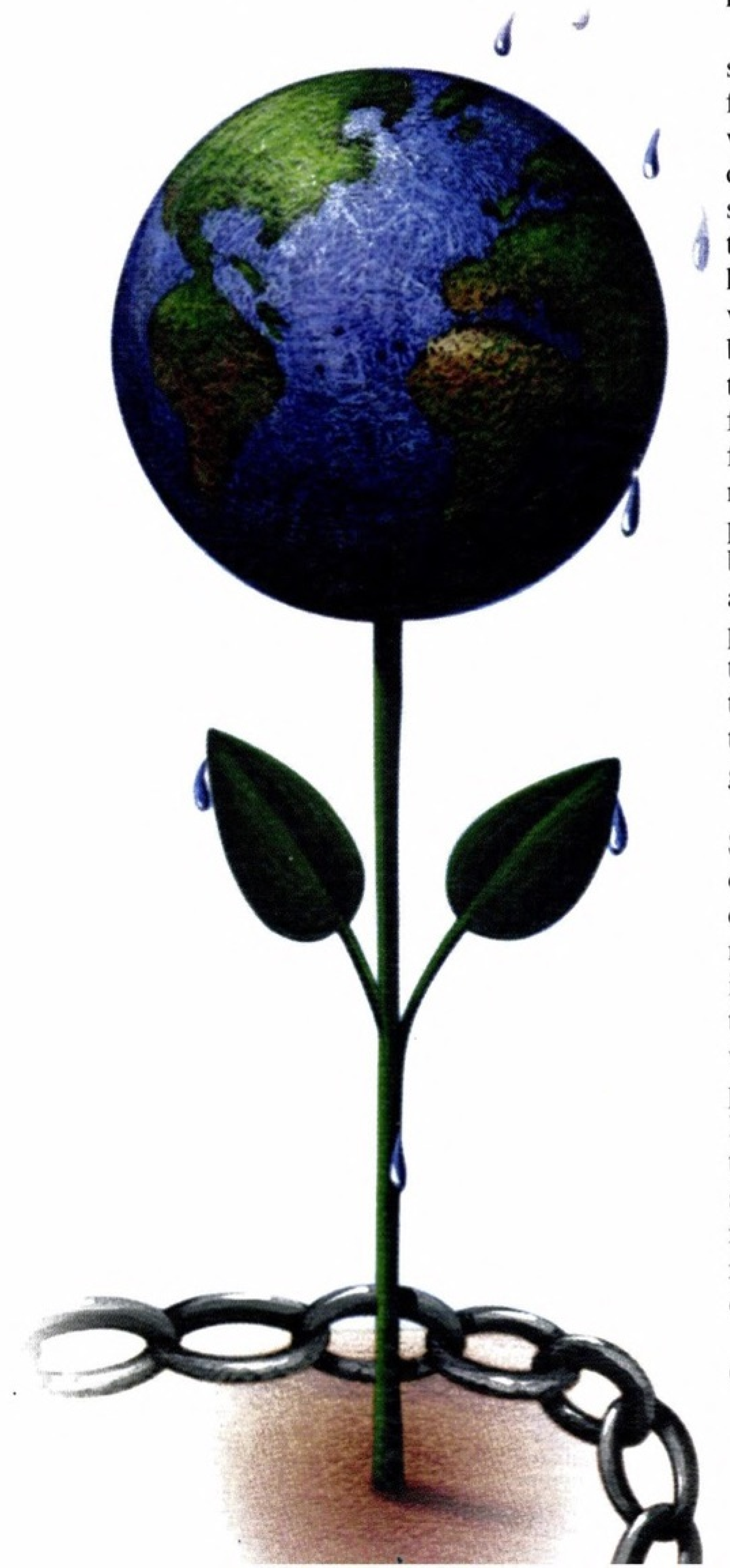
We value, say, the rights of Bahais in Iran to practise their faith, or of Kurds to speak their language in Turkey, or of Pakistanis to read *The Satanic Verses*, not only out of respect for individuals who happen to be Bahais, Kurds, or Salman Rushdie, but because other individuals have need of their activities. Individuals – their activities, their vitalities – are at the core. Communities matter for those reasons.

Equally, a nation needs the right to sustenance because the individuals who populate that nation need it. As the social theorist Steven Lukes has argued: 'to defend human rights is not merely to protect individuals. It is also to protect the activities and relations that make their lives more valuable; activities and relations that cannot be conceived reductively as merely individual goods. Thus the right to free expression and communication protects artistic expression and the communication of information; the right to a fair trial protects a well-functioning legal system; the right to free association protects democratic trade unions, social movements and political demonstrations and so on.'

To put it another way, the ideal of equality cannot be used to trump the ideal of liberty. Nor can the ideal of liberty be used to trump the ideal of equality. The Universal Declaration, in Article 29, wisely acknowledges that: 'everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his (sic) personality is possible.' That is, people cannot exist on their own. But, equally wisely, the Declaration goes on to caution: 'In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of security, due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.'

In other words, the burden of proof is on those who would restrain rights – on the Chinese rulers, not Wei Jingsheng; on the Iranian rulers, not Salman Rushdie. When a government cracks down on a writer claiming that free expression by citizens would generate chaos, saying so does not make it so. Governments are, after all, great compilers of alibis. They must be hedged by a presumption of modesty. When it comes to human rights, individuals are entitled to a presumption of innocence.

Can we move beyond a simple restatement of positions, the mind's rights versus the body's? Individual's rights versus a culture's? How many more persons must be tortured, murdered, displaced, starved, unemployed, to serve the appetite of the custodians of power? How many of the poor (and disproportionately young) must die amid the complacency of the wealthy (and disproportionately old)?



It would serve all people well to exercise great care before assuming that the various human rights are incompatible. The appropriate way to honor the right to eat is to act on behalf of the right to eat, not to subtract the right to publish. We do not need a race to the bottom.

Not only is the confrontation tedious; it does no good for those who suffer. The rights of the Tibetans to self-determination are not supported if China cannot feed its people. The rights of women to sexual lives are not protected if the rights of Kurds are abrogated. Salman Rushdie and his readers are not protected from the *fatwa* when Muslims are subordinated in Israel or Algeria. No partisan of the debate about the universality of human rights is entitled to hold one right hostage against another.

The burden on the West is to move past smug restatements of its Enlightenment faith, to acknowledge that its own record with respect to the rule of law has been deeply flawed, and to acknowledge that sustenance and security matter as much as the right of expression. The West could use humility about its own achievements, for it was not born with liberties intact in its breast. Centuries of struggle were required to abolish slavery, to secure freedom of the press and the rest of the freedoms that are still too casually dismissed as 'bourgeois' or 'luxuries of the prosperous'. Concretely, it is also incumbent upon the West to acknowledge by its actions that sustenance matters – not simply to croon praises of free markets. Free trade does not solve, and may exacerbate, the travails of poor countries, and countries that experience wrenching poverty are not good guarantors of law or liberty.

Meanwhile, the burden on the East and South is to acknowledge that the ensemble of human rights are (largely if not always) compatible in practice. They are not automatically at loggerheads, and human ingenuity allows for many complex permutations and combinations of values. Jailing writers does not help a country feed its people. Torture does nothing to make a local economy sustainable. On the contrary: the jailers of writers are often the same governments that suppress workers' rights and collude with the destroyers of rainforests. Suppressers of women are often deniers of bread.

Moreover, 'Asian values' are not the Confucian monolith that certain rulers proclaim. There is a multiplicity of traditions available under the rubrics 'Asian', 'Buddhist', 'Hindu', 'Muslim', just as there are many Christianities, many Western traditions – including one not so proudly advertised these days, fascism.

After Communism and the Cold War, with their spurious unifications, the world is awash with conflicting claims, competing ways of seeing. It bears repeating that the political problem is not difference – difference is a human fact, or rather, a multiplicity of human facts. The problems include murderous conflict and the ruthless suppression of difference. From the present vantage-point it is blindingly clear that the Cold War served to stabilize an ignoble world order. With its meltdown comes centrifugal motion, which in some ways is the proof of the world's plenitude, its wealth of diversity. But much avoidable suffering also results. The horsemen of the apocalypse ride high. Nationalist and tribal resurgences seem to mock all universal declarations.

> ***The appropriate way to honor the right to eat is to act on behalf of the right to eat, not to subtract the right to publish. We do not need a race to the bottom***

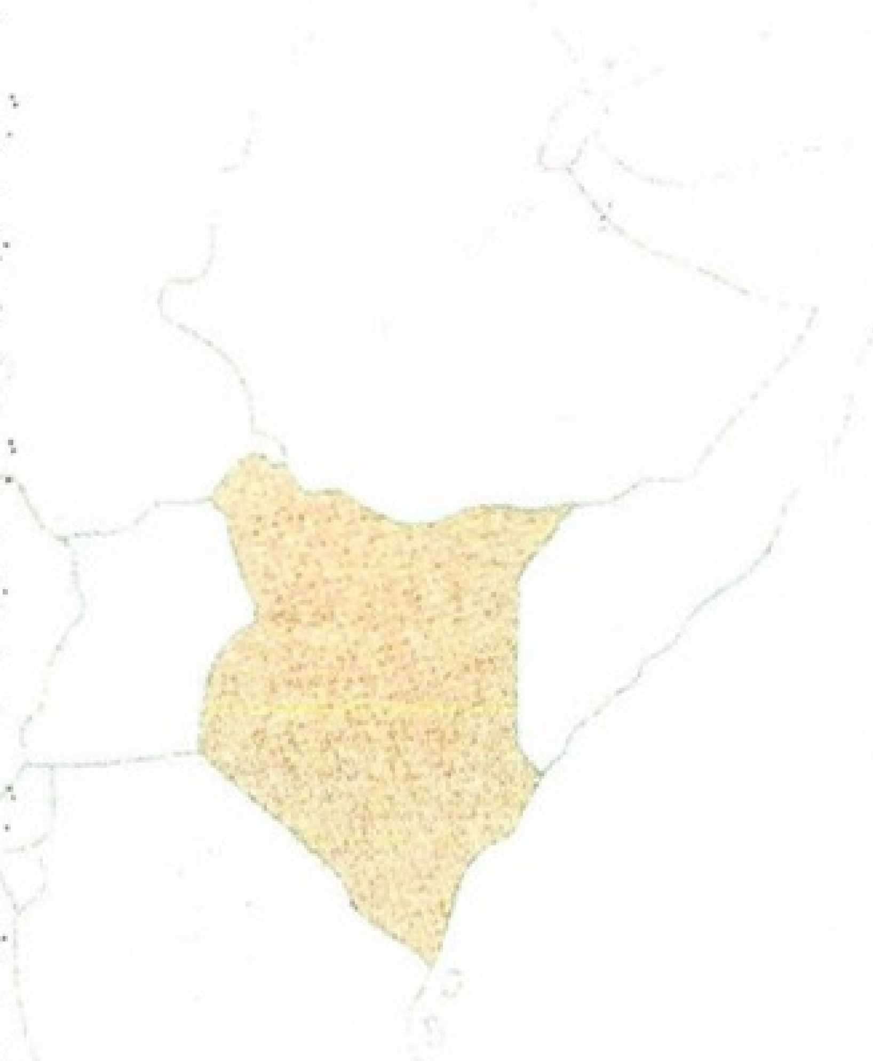
Yet today two ideals offer chances to affirm that humanity has a common nature and prospect – human rights and ecological sanity. For all the crimes and miseries of the present, the fact remains that the global nature of the challenges has never before been so widely recognized. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights offers an invaluable general template. If different parts of the world fall short of the Declaration in different ways, there remains a common direction, a single standard of judgement. There will remain diverse imperfections and diverse ways of living up to the single standard. But we would be farther along now if we agreed on a general refusal to dredge up alibis for failure. We are familiar with all the self-exculpatory lines of argument – as in: 'Those who accuse us of crimes against liberty are themselves guilty of crimes against equality', and so on. These accusations add up to a formula for failure. The politics of excuses serves only the complacency of the privileged. The duel of alibis blocks all improvements. Not either/or but both/and is the proper approach. ■

Todd Gitlin is a sociologist, essayist, novelist, and professor of culture, journalism, and sociology at New York University. His most recent book, which elaborates the themes of this article, is *The Twilight of Common Dreams: Why America is Wracked by Culture Wars* (Henry Holt 1995).

TANYA CORDOBA

Diapers and dictators

Tania Cordoba talks with the **Reverend Timothy Njoya** and finds that laughter and high spirits are vital tools in the fight against oppression in Kenya.



'THEY beat me and left me for dead. If the journalists had not thrown themselves on my body to save me from the final bullets of Nairobi police I would not be here to talk to you .'

Reverend Timothy Njoya's bloodied face flashed across TV screens and newspapers around the world last year, shaking his native Kenya into a frenzy. The fury and counter-fury of systemic oppression and courageous revolt quickly shredded the democratic fig-leaf of President Daniel Arap Moi's 20-year dictatorship.

With typical generosity Njoya cautions that: 'The police are human beings too, when they are not fulfilling commands.'

Full of hope and courage in the face of an openly repressive regime, people look to Njoya as a voice they can have confidence in.

Njoya carries a diaper bag with him to his sermons. His face beams with mischievous good cheer as he explains the bag's purpose. 'When the police throw teargas into the Church, I pick up the canisters and put them in my bag – the diaper bag absorbs the gas as it does baby's urine. And so I continue with my sermon. The police outside are wondering what is going on, and why we are not all running out.'

It is not uncommon for the state to use teargas, to beat people, or even to kill

Njoya has become a national figure in Kenya. He credits the media with extending his pulpit, giving him a national and international audience.

'The people hear my sermons, they hear them in the prisons, in the slums; even the police hear my sermons. The reason I am fighting Moi is that he feels he owns the country.'

His opposition to Moi is rooted in a view of African history and the Kenyan independence movement that is nothing if not controversial. He believes that his country ended up 'Africanizing a colonial system', in effect 'Africanizing slavery'. Njoya holds similar views on the negative effects of Western Christianity that have got him into trouble with his own church.

'In Kenya today there is no freedom of association, no freedom of the press, and no freedom of expression. What we have is government-orchestrated violence – the Government fosters violence to show that Africans are too "immature" to be given rights.'

Njoya explains that there are no violations of human rights, because there are simply no rights. The ruling party (KANU) insists that 'human rights' is a foreign ideology. Such notions fit all too well with the crude anthropological view of Africa still held by many Westerners.

'They say that with democracy, Africa will revert back to tribalism, chaos and anarchy, because democracy is not an African concept. The Government would organize people to eat each other, in order to prove that if you bring democracy there will be cannibalism,' says Reverend Njoya, with a laugh building deep in his belly.

The Kenyan opposition is kept weak and fragmented. Anyone who is not from the ruling party needs a licence for a gathering of more than eight people. This applies for any public meeting, even for weddings and funerals. When these laws are broken, it is not uncommon for the state to use teargas, to beat people, or even to kill.

Njoya calls for constitutional change to allow for a coalition government. Too often he has seen opposition politicians put personal ambition before principle. He puts his faith in the social movement rooted in the slums, local churches and a growing feminist and environmentalist consciousness.

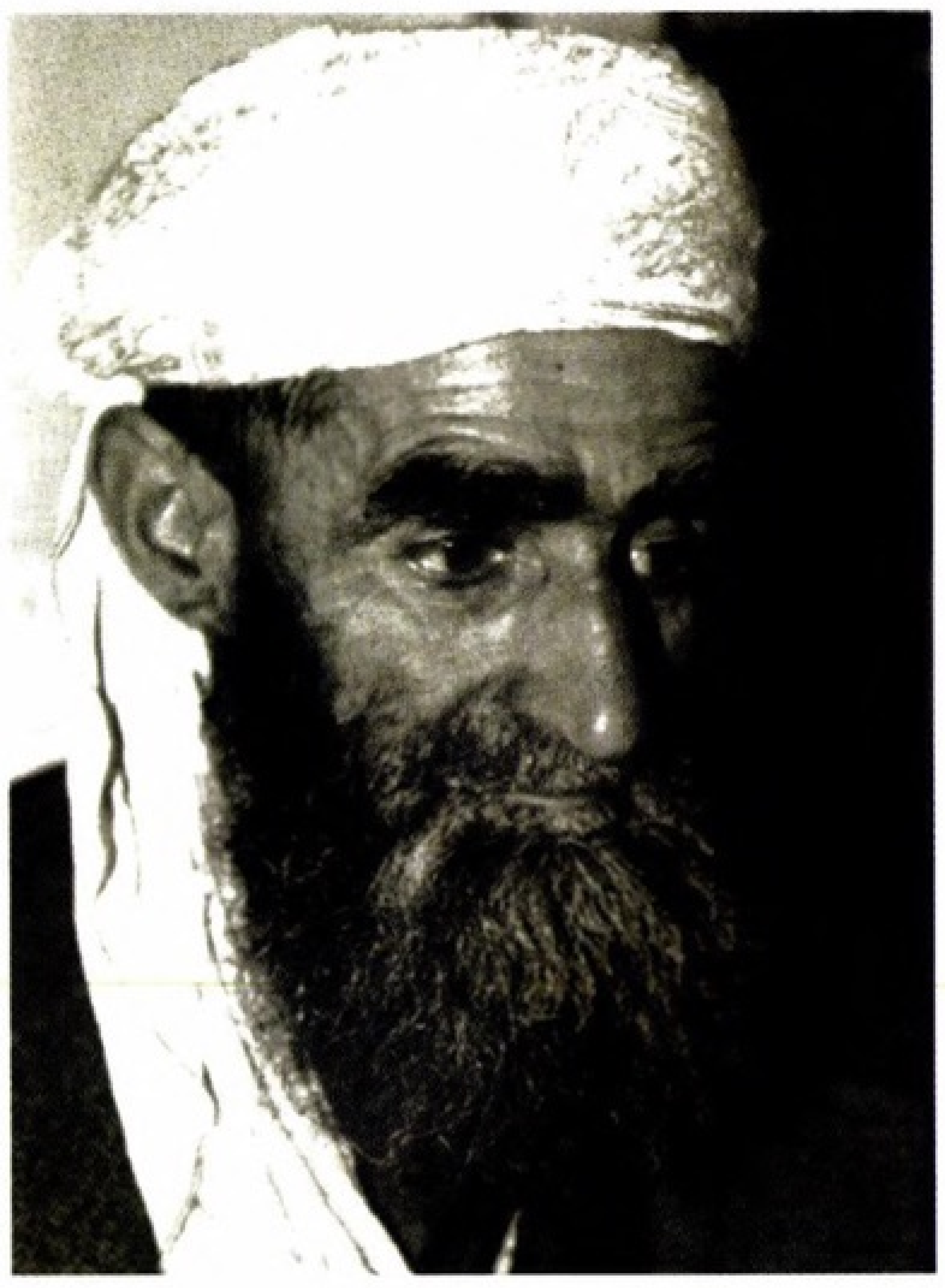
He readjusts his sling - his right arm was fractured by the Nairobi police - as he recalls an incident when he went for dinner in a fancy restaurant in a small resort town on the shore of Lake Victoria. He ordered a rare and expensive tilipia fish – caught mainly for export. Before long, some street children found him there and they wanted to eat too. Njoya invited the children to sit down with him and ordered a plate just like his for each child. Some even called their friends and soon the posh restaurant was full of poor children having their meal with Njoya.

Some of the children were so dirty that when they sat down they left a 'rubber stamp' on the seat. After eating Njoya checked his pocket. He counted his money one, two, three times. He had barely enough to cover four meals, let alone forty. The restaurant owner came over and stood on the table to make an announcement:

'Today we are very greatly honoured to have Reverend Njoya come and eat in this hotel. We have never seen anything else like this. All my life I have always seen these children eat from the dustbin. From now on these children will be eating here every day without pay until I die.' Allusions to loaves and fishes are inevitable. ■

Tania Cordoba is an intern in the **NI** Toronto office.

Tear gas and plastic bullets used by the Kenyan security forces were manufactured by UK companies. For an action pack contact Michael Crowley at Amnesty International UK.



▲ Abdurressak Ipek is a Kurd from Tirali in south-east Turkey. In his region the vast majority of Kurds speak in Kurdish dialect. Ipek speaks no Turkish. He is not even sure of his age – he thinks he is about 70 years old. But he does remember the day the Turkish Army entered his village. It was 18 May 1994. The Army accused the village of supporting the outlawed PKK. They torched the buildings and killed the livestock. Six men were arrested – including Ipek's two sons. Three have since been released, but Ipek's sons were not among them. The authorities deny knowledge of their whereabouts. For a while Ipek haunted the offices of the Turkish Human Rights Association in Diyarbakir, hoping for news. Then the offices themselves were raided by 'anti-terror teams', the workers accused of 'aiding and abetting the PKK'. The Association remains shut down. As do the hopes of Abduressak Ipek.

New day yet to dawn: the Kurds

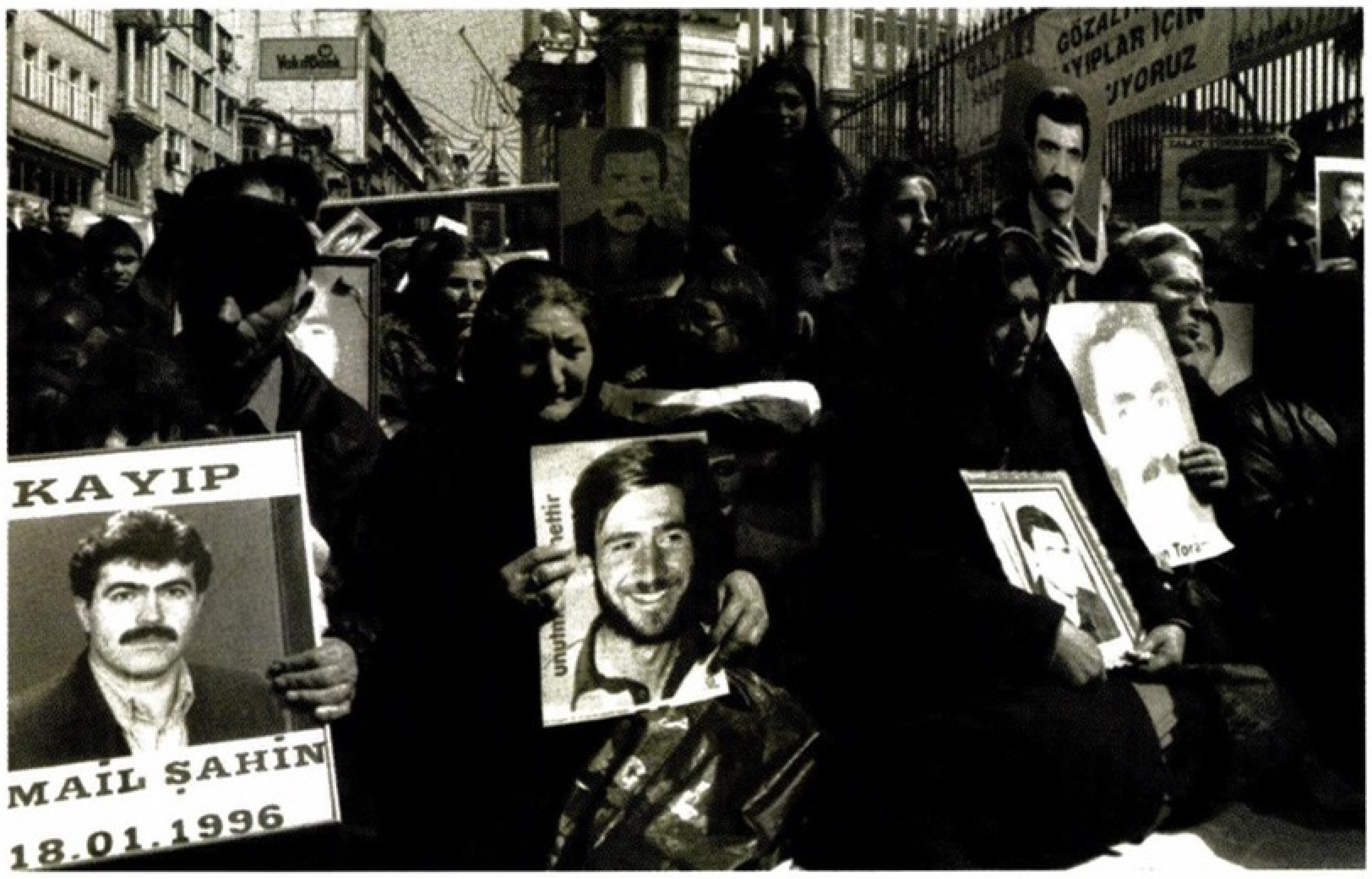
Numbering over 26 million, the Kurds are one of the largest nations in the world without a state. Their homeland lies mainly in Turkey, Iraq and Iran, with smaller parts in Syria, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

ARTICLE 15. 1. EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO A NATIONALITY. 2. NO ONE SHALL BE ARBITRARILY DEPRIVED OF THEIR NATIONALITY NOR DENIED THE RIGHT TO CHANGE THEIR NATIONALITY.

About 13 million Kurds live in Turkey, where they comprise about 20 per cent of the population. Under Turkish law it is forbidden to learn, write or publicly speak Kurdish. Anyone discussing the Kurds is accused of supporting the PKK (the Kurdistan Workers' Party) and faces imprisonment under 'anti-terrorism' laws.

The south-east of Turkey, where many Kurds live, is a region at war. In the last 13 years the death toll here has been well over 25,000. Over 3,000 villages have been systematically destroyed by the Turkish military and there are over three million refugees.

Photos by **Onnik Krikorian**



▲ 'Mothers of the Disappeared', Galatasaray, Istanbul. In 1996 there were 194 recorded 'disappearances' in Turkey.

Like their counterparts in South America and Bosnia, the mothers of the disappeared hold a vigil at noon every Saturday. They hold photographs of their loved ones. The mother in black on the right is Emine Ocak, mother of Hasan Ocak. He disappeared on 21 March 1995. His body was found in an unmarked grave five days later. She served 12 days' imprisonment for her vigil.

◀ It is 21 March – Kurdish New Year. Nesibe Yilmaz, secretary of HADEP Women's Committee, and the people at HADEP (The People's Democracy Party) are celebrating. According to Kurdish history, *Newroz* (as it is called in Kurdish, which means 'New Day') dates back to 612 BC when a Kurdish smith called Kawa led a successful people's revolt against a tyrannical ruler.

But the festival has been banned in Turkey since the 1920s. It has become a symbol for Kurds of freedom, independence and unity for the Kurdish nation. In the last decade, the Turkish Government has resorted to violent means to suppress it – 109 Kurdish civilians were killed while celebrating Newroz in 1992.

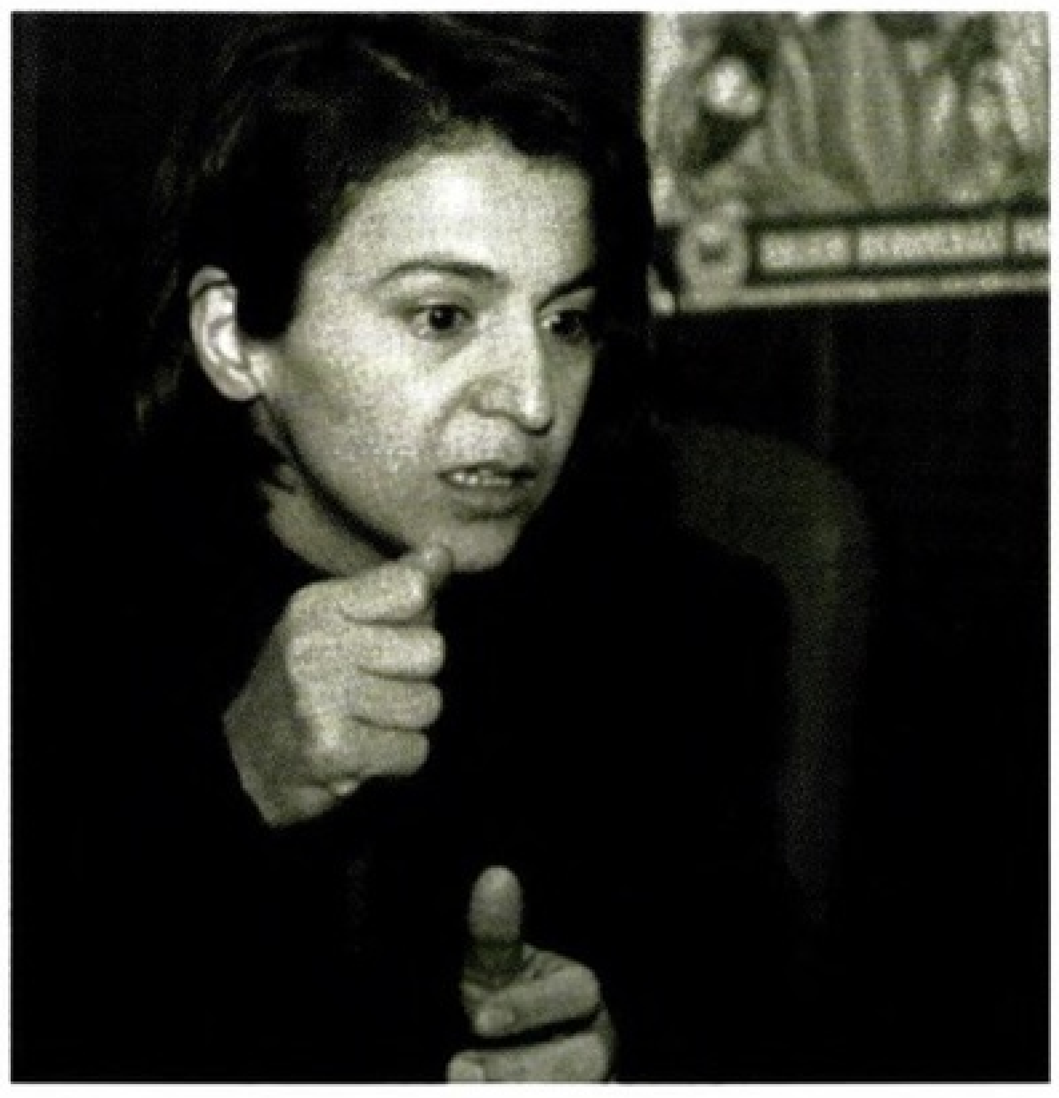
In 1995, then Prime Minister Tansu Çiller attempted a new strategy. Turkey claimed Newroz as its own festival. Despite this, all Newroz celebrations have to receive official permission.

The party in the photograph has no such permission. Outside the building Turkish police observe.

Sanar Yurdatapan is one of the founding members and principal activists of ▲ the 'Coming Together for Peace' campaign, set up a year ago when Turkey's most famous novelist, Yasar Kemal, was arrested. The campaign is supported by some of the most distinguished Turkish writers, academics and artists as well as by Western playwrights Arthur Miller and Harold Pinter.

Yurdatapan is a leading Turkish composer. He published the book *Freedom of Thought* in 1995 in which 200 writers supported Yasar Kemal. This resulted in the prosecution of nearly 200 intellectuals under the Anti-Terrorist law.

On 22 April 1997 Yurdatapan was arrested and detained for 'supporting the PKK'. He had just interviewed two 'informers' on video for their collusion in state-sponsored murders of opposition figures. He was also attempting to take the military to court for the murder of village guards in Guclukonak. Amnesty International issued an appeal for urgent action and he has since been released on bail.



◀ Selma Tanrikulu is 33. She belongs to HADEP (the People's Democracy Party). She was voted in as MP for Diyarbakir in December 1995 but prevented from taking her seat because a party needs ten per cent of votes nationally. The Turkish Government is now trying to close down HADEP which, although not exclusively Kurdish, is the only political voice for Kurds in Turkey. To date, 92 members of HADEP have been killed and the party's offices in eastern Turkey have been bombed.

Tanrikulu has three children. Her political career was thrust upon her in September 1993 when her husband was murdered by unknown assailants. He was a prominent consultant and administrator at a local hospital.

'We do not have the right to life in this region,' she said earlier this year, 'and I am not even sure I will get home tonight. But I want my children to live in an environment of peace and I am willing to take risks for that...'

On 31 August this year she was arrested. Like Leyla Zana, another Kurdish woman MP who has been jailed for 15 years, she risks a long imprisonment.

Umur Hozalti (not his real name) was a ▶ journalist with the pro-Kurdish newspaper *Demokrasí*, which was closed down on 3 May 1997 for 'crimes against public security'. 3 May is, ironically, World Press Freedom Day. *Demokrasí* is one of a long line of Turkish newspapers closed down for their pro-Kurdish stance. These include *Ozgur Gundem* (Free Agenda), *Ozgur Ulke* (Free Country) and *Yeni Politika* (New Policy).

It is a dangerous business being a journalist in Turkey. Newspaper offices have been bombed, and journalists harassed, attacked and imprisoned. Since 1992, 27 journalists and editors have disappeared and last year 421 were arrested. But the rest refuse to be daunted and as one paper is closed down another opens up.

Paying the **price** of **freedom**

Katrina Payne speaks with **Nawal El Saadawi**; Egyptian feminist, doctor, writer and fierce advocate of the rights of women.

NAWAL EL SAADAWI's determination to chart her own course – whether as a doctor, political theorist, activist or internationally acclaimed author – started early. As a ten-year-old living in rural Egypt she committed her first rebellion. She refused to get married. 'This was the first challenge and when I succeeded it gave me a lot of strength.'

This strength and her refusal to accept the limitations imposed by class, colonialism, patriarchy and religion led her to qualify as a doctor and then to become Director of Public Health.

She then realized, as she says in her latest book, that 'writing was a stronger weapon than medicine in the fight against poverty and ignorance'. So she wrote. And wrote. Poems, short stories, novels, plays. 'I used to write about love,' she says. 'Then I discovered the relation between love and politics. Between poverty and politics. Between sex and politics. I realized that the political regime imposed the will of men upon women and imposed poverty and slavery upon the poor and destitute.' Specifically, she started writing and speaking about the links between women's oppression and the liberation of her country.

For this she lost her job – and several subsequent ones – and was imprisoned. Her books were confiscated and her work censored.

She has called this, 'Paying the price of freedom'. As women are likely to be exploited anyway, she points out optimistically: 'It is better to pay and be free than to pay and be oppressed.' But the price has been high; going on to include a five-year period of exile and being put on a 'death list'.

> ***'I feel the danger all the time, but it has become part of me. It is like sitting in a train – after a while you no longer feel the movement'***

So where has she found the strength to carry on? 'Aaah.' Her eyes sparkle. 'It's a decision, unconscious from childhood.' She makes this sound the most natural statement in the world. Her inspiration came through the female side of her family, from her mother and grandmother. She calls it 'absorbing their ambitions', which were cut short by lack of schooling and poverty. She also inherited her father's opposition to colonialism. In addition, 'being a female, I felt the discrimination between me and my brother'. Her course was set.

Nawal became a passionate advocate for women's rights. She believes that women are oppressed all over the world. 'Women are the first target because we are politically weak and because our status in religions is inferior.'

She is full of hope for the future. ' I think in the next millennium women will gain a lot. The women's movement is starting to mature all over the world. How can you say "post-feminism"? It's ridiculous!' And she dismisses the idea with a wave of her hand and a shake of her thick white wavy hair.

Nawal is clear where she stands on women. She is also clear about the human-rights movement. In the Arab world, she says in her book, this burgeoned in the 1980s, though restricted by government intervention and control. This still means that in her part of the world human-rights organizations 'concentrate their activities mainly on matters concerning political arrests, treatment in prison, legal rights of political prisoners, torture and so on. In recent years the movement in Egypt has also taken up the issue of violence, whether by terrorists or on the part of government, which is a new and important dimension of work.'

Nawal's view of the world is inclusive. In the same way that when you talk to her one idea leads seamlessly on to another, one form of tyranny– the abuse of human rights, the oppression of women, the injustice of poverty – cannot be separated from another: 'How far ' she writes, 'can we talk about human rights without raising a new conception which extends them to the economic, social, cultural, racial and religious fields as well as to women and youth? How far can the present limited approach go? Does it not need to expand, to interest much wider sections of the population in action for human rights?'

She clearly believes strongly that it does. In her book she has a section called 'How to empower the resistance'. Here she argues that to resist global injustice there has to be action at all levels, from local to international. 'We need a movement that is progressive, not backward, which seeks unity in diversity by breaking down barriers built on discrimination (by gender, class, race, religion) and by discovering what we have in common as human beings.'

The high price she has paid for speaking out has not dampened her enthusiasm or her energy. She seems able to live constantly on the edge. She smiles her acknowledgement of this: 'I am in danger. I feel the danger all the time, but it has become part of me. I no longer feel it. It is like sitting in a train; after a while you no longer feel the movement; you become part of it.' ■

Katrina Payne is a freelance journalist specializing in gender issues.

***The Nawal El Saadawi Reader* is published by Zed Books (1997).**

HUMAN RIGHTS – BASIC NEEDS

Human rights must include the ability to survive – the basic means by which to live. And yet, despite improvements in overall poverty figures, progress has been uneven and much human deprivation still remains, especially in the Majority World.

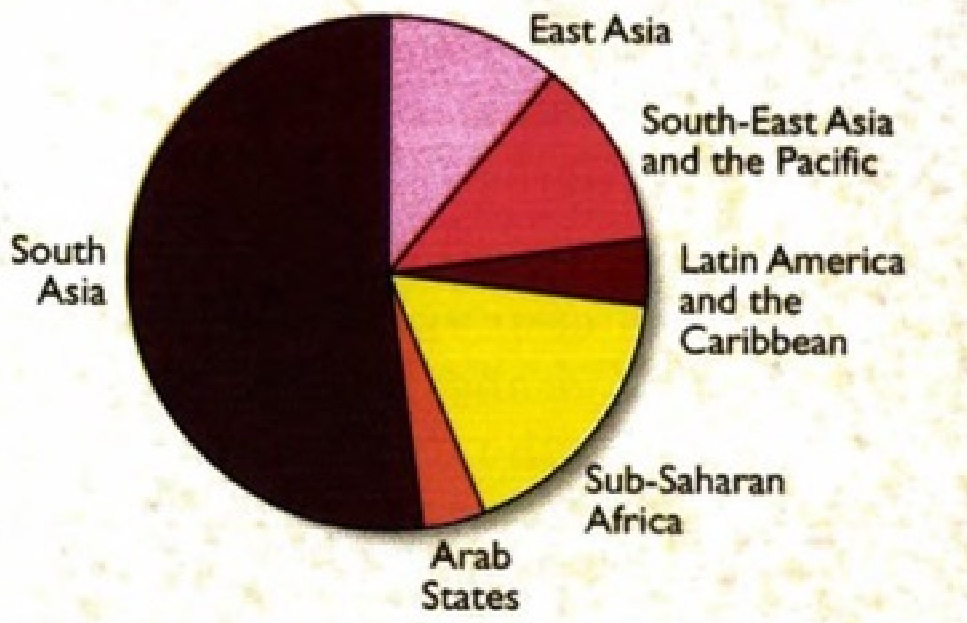
More than a quarter of the people in the Third World still live below the income-poverty line; half a million women die each year in childbirth and education is still largely for the privileged.

Poverty [1]

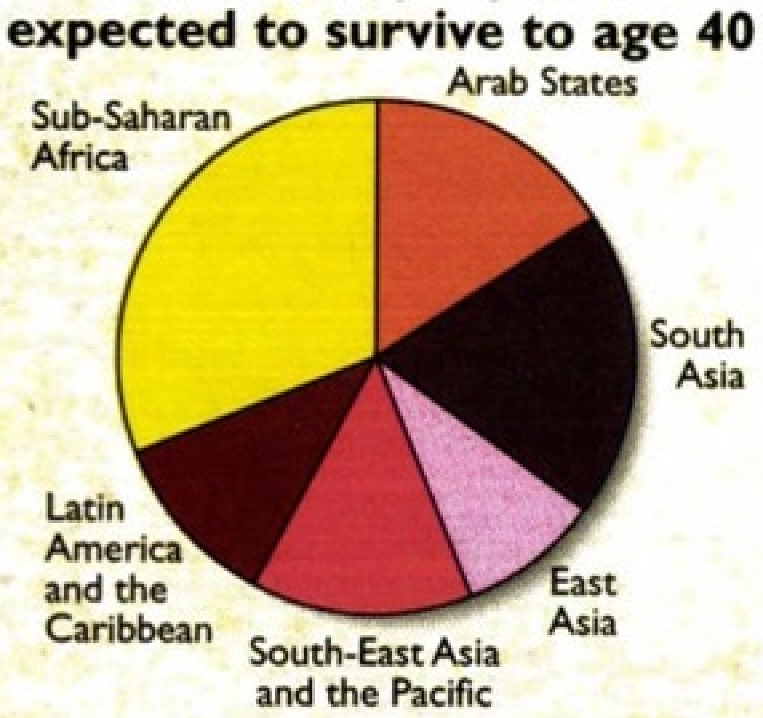
One of the great achievements of the twentieth century, says the latest *Human Development Report* from the UN, is the dramatic reduction of poverty. In the South, more than three-quarters of the population can now expect to survive to the age of 40. Adult illiteracy has been reduced by nearly half. Infant mortality has been cut by nearly three-fifths.

This still meants that 507 million people are not expected to survive until they are 40; there are 1.2 billion people without access to safe water, 842 million illiterate adults, and 158 million malnourished children under five.

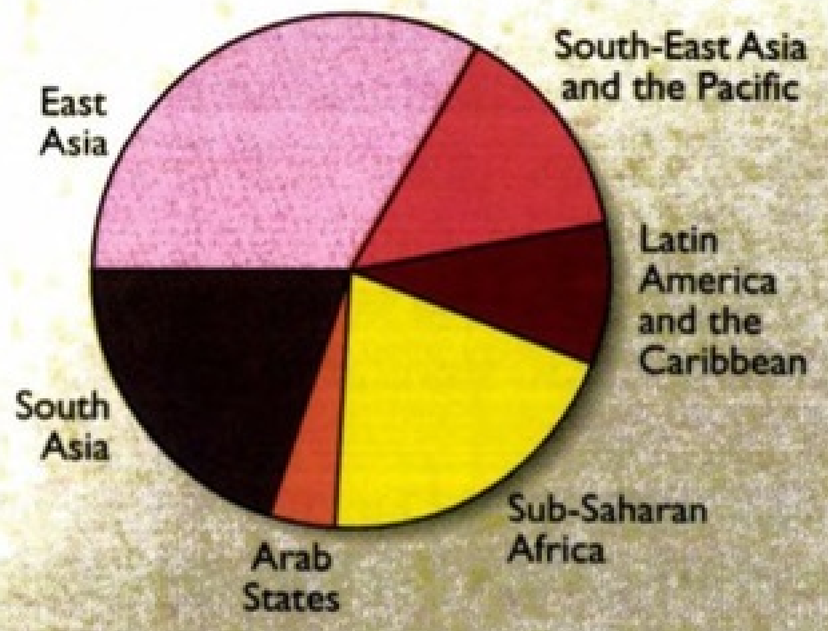
158 million malnourished children under five



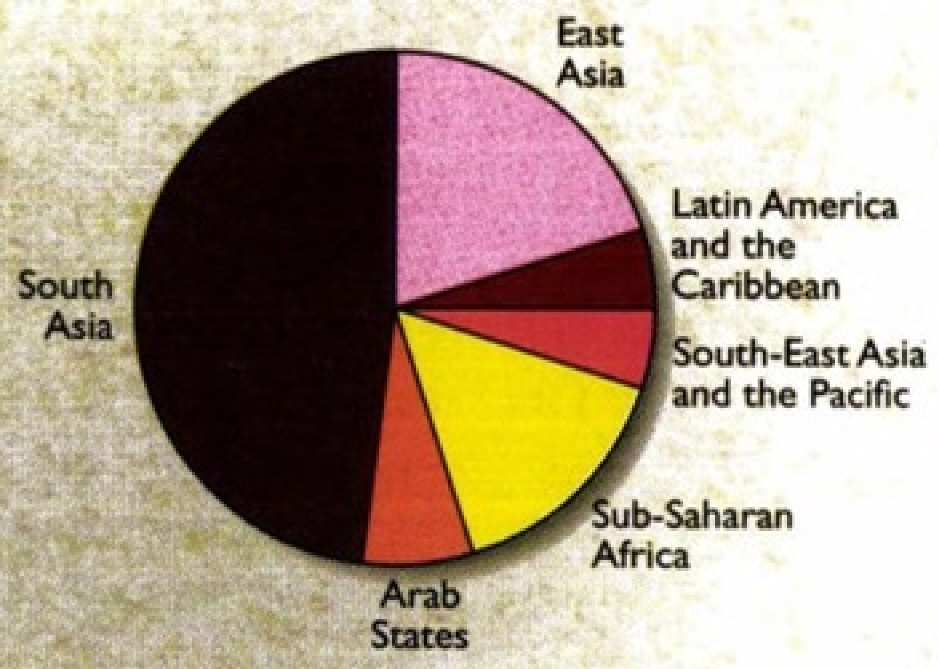
507 million people not expected to survive to age 40



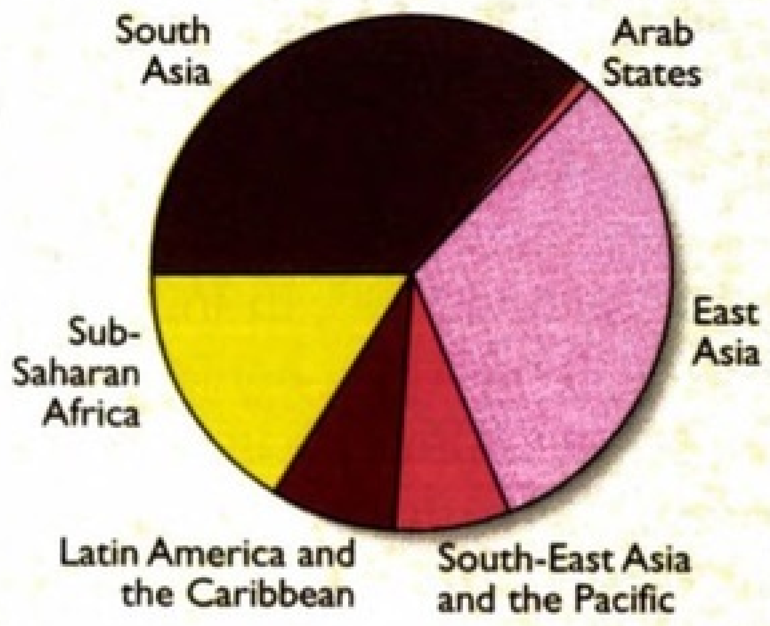
1.2 billion people without access to safe water

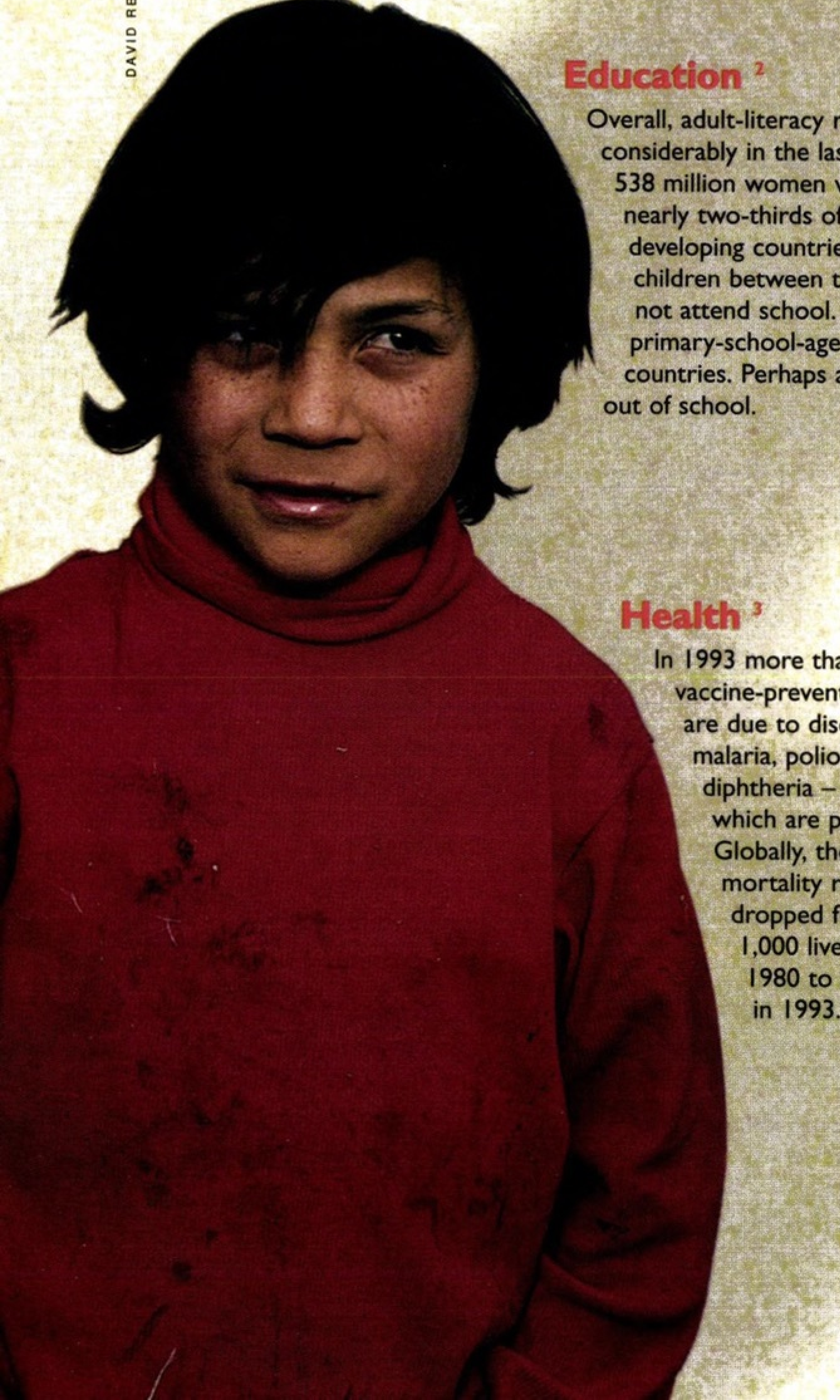


842 million illiterate adults



1.3 billion people living below the income-poverty line



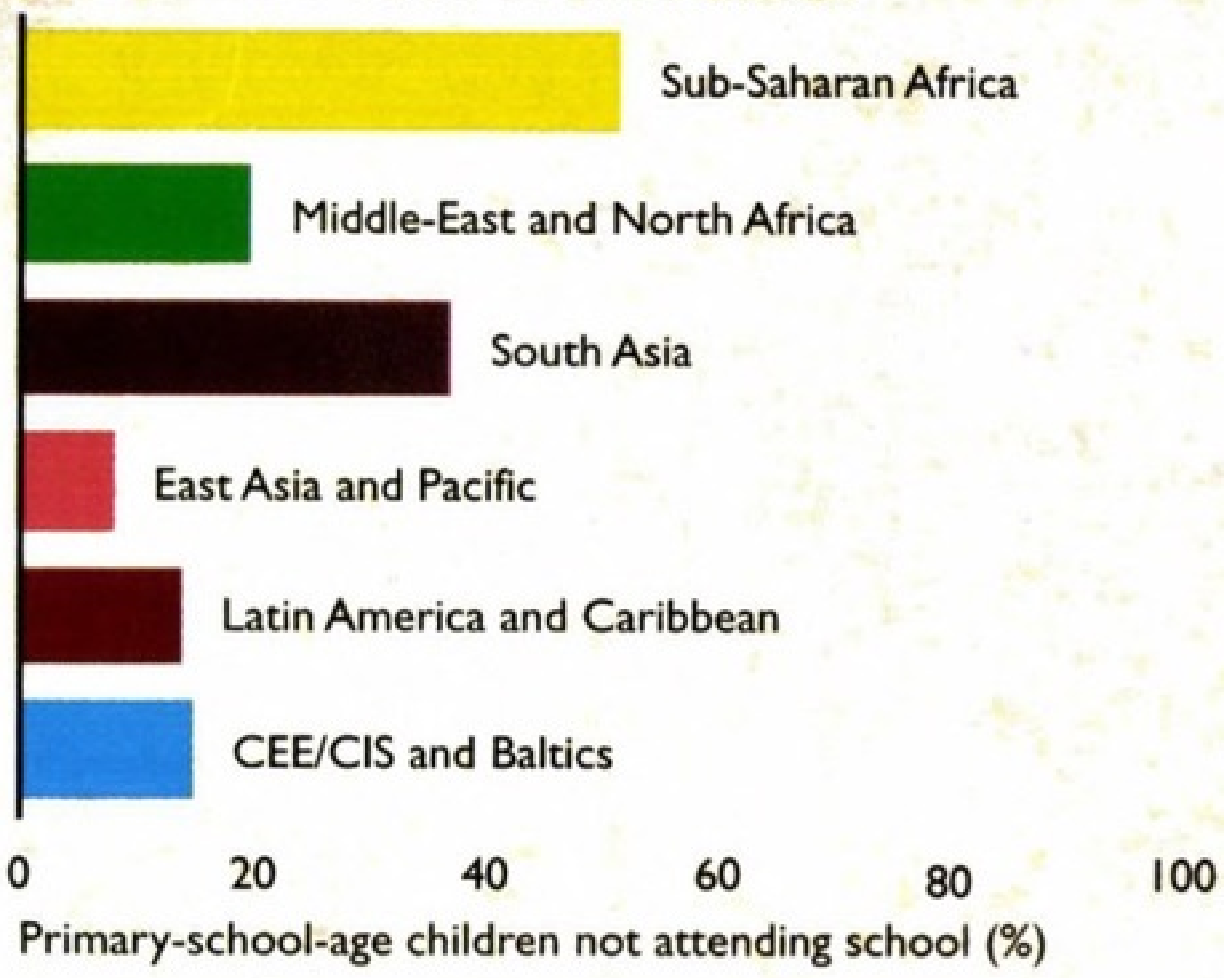


DAVID REED / PANOS

Education [2]

Overall, adult-literacy rates have improved considerably in the last 50 years. But there are 538 million women who still cannot read – nearly two-thirds of the adult illiterates in developing countries. More than 140 million children between the ages of 6 and 11 do not attend school. This is 23 per cent of primary-school-age children in developing countries. Perhaps an equal number drop out of school.

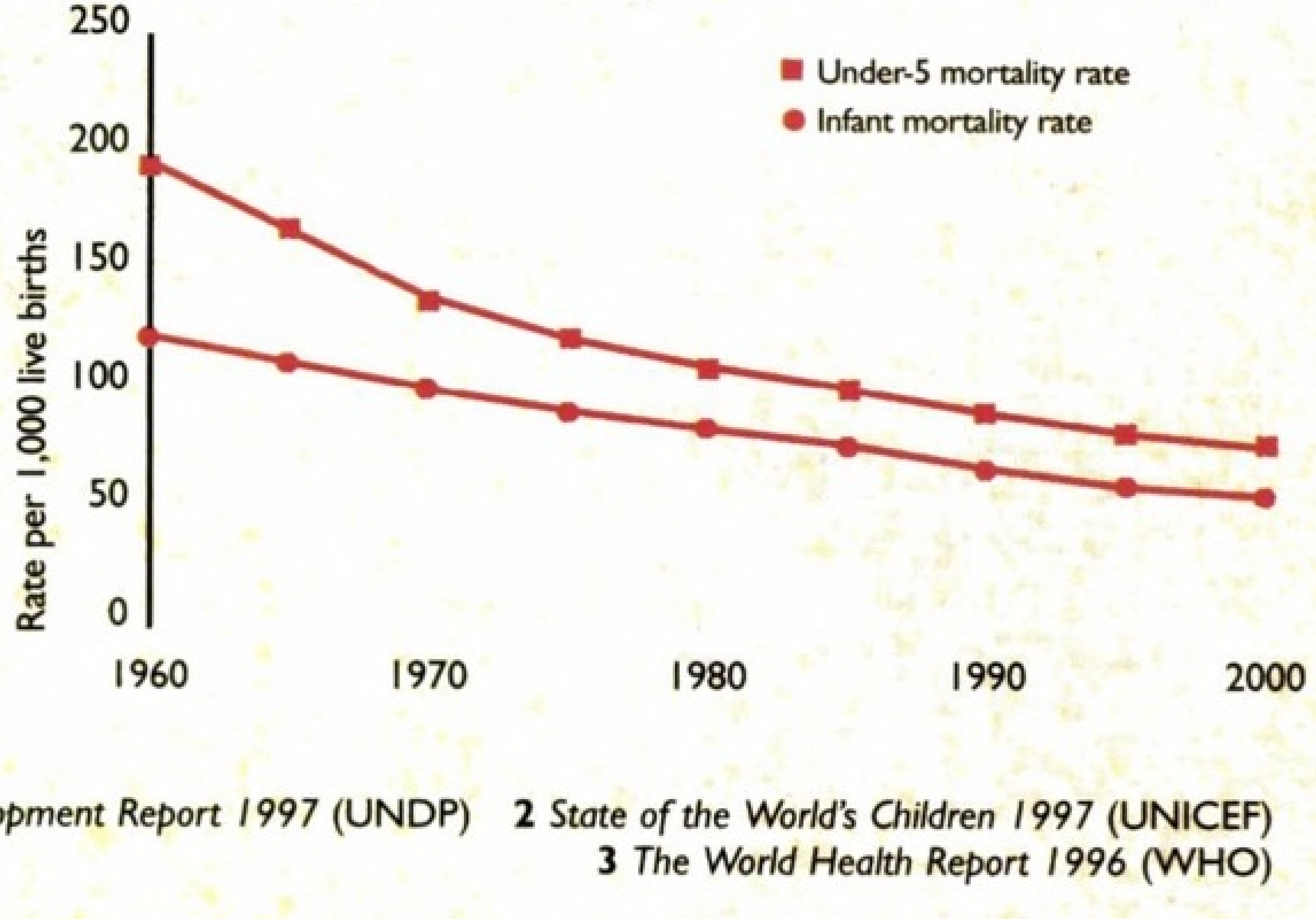
Children out of school: a cost and a cause of child labour



Health [3]

In 1993 more than 12 million children under the age of five died. But the number dying from vaccine-preventable diseases was reduced by 1.3 million. This leaves 2.4 million deaths which are due to diseases like malaria, poliomyelitis and diphtheria – diseases which are preventable. Globally, the infant-mortality rate has dropped from 82 per 1,000 live births in 1980 to about 62 in 1993.

Infant and under-5 mortality rates 1960-2000



1 *Human Development Report 1997* (UNDP) 2 *State of the World's Children 1997* (UNICEF)
3 *The World Health Report 1996* (WHO)

Sticks, sto
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The anniversary of the UN Declaration has provoked heated debate in the Far East, where some have argued that 'Asian values' should supersede Western 'propaganda' on human rights. The debate has particular significance for **Angela Lee Nga Kam**, who works for Amnesty in a Hong Kong now acclimatizing to Chinese rule.

建設民主中國
結束一黨專政
Put an End to One-Party Dictatorship!

IAN JONES / FRANK SPOONER / GAMMA

It was Lee Kuan Yew, self-styled Elder Statesperson and former Prime Minister of Singapore, who first appears to have coined the term 'Asian values'. For him, it denoted a system which puts economic rights first in order to give people a decent standard of living.

In Singapore, the improvement in economic rights has been heralded as a living example of 'Asian values'. The economic progress there is real but seems to have excluded progress on other fronts: Singaporeans are still denied many of their civil and political rights – especially those relating to freedom of expression and association. The importance of 'social harmony' is stressed, ranking the rights of the wider community higher than those of individuals. The preservation of such harmony can easily be used to justify violent intervention by the Government.

The same atmosphere is found in other countries whose leaders enthuse about 'Asian values'. In Indonesia, trade unionists are continually harassed and imprisoned. Dr Muchtar Pakpahan, a union leader, was sentenced to four years for allegedly 'inciting' others to disobey the Government during demonstrations in April 1994. Many believe he is imprisoned simply for trying to protect the integrity of workers.

In Malaysia, whose Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed regularly refers to the concept, financial journalists were threatened with detention under the draconian Internal Security Act simply for trying to report what was happening to currency and stock markets.

> Article 19
> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinions and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

This kind of repression does not necessarily lead to a better standard of living. In Burma, where aspirations for civil and political rights continue to be brutally quashed, there has been little improvement in the economic situation of ordinary people.

Nor does democracy preclude economic improvement. The proponents of Asian values have conveniently ignored the struggles for democracy in the Philippines, Taiwan and South Korea. While these are far from perfect as democracies, their peoples have fought for (and won) a much greater say in government – and their economies have been improving as well.

The theory that there are particular Asian values which exempt us from universal standards of human rights provides a convenient smokescreen for some of the many real challenges we face here in Asia. It offers a continued platform for authoritarian governments and businesses to profit from the exploitation of the less fortunate. Moreover, it remains a concept clouded with ambiguity; a description tailor-made to the needs of whoever is using the term. As Hong Kong-based human-rights expert Professor Yash Ghai puts it: 'There is no particular coherence in the doctrine of Asian values. Its intellectual roots are weak, and it shifts its ground as expediency demands.'

Some authoritarian leaders in Asia have blamed human rights and democracy for the ills now found in the industrialized West. However, Burma's leading dissident, Aung San Suu Kyi, thinks they lie elsewhere: 'Many of the worst ills of American society, increasingly to be found in other developed countries, can be traced not to their democratic legacy but to the demands of modern materialism... The result is a society where cultural and human values are set aside and money value reigns supreme.'

Korean democratic leader Kim Dae Jung, meanwhile, has said that the real solution to the ills of marketization and industrialization, 'is not to impose the terror of a police state but to emphasize ethical education, give high regard to spiritual value, and promote high standards in culture and arts.'

Are Aung San Suu Kyi, Kim Dae Jung, Dr Muchtar Pakpahan or East Timor's Bishop Belo less 'Asian' than Dr Mahathir and Lee Kuan Yew because they promote a more complex view of the relationship between human rights, democracy and economics?

According to Harvard University economist and philosopher Amartya Sen there is little evidence to suggest that political and civil rights hamper economic growth. On the contrary, Sen states that, 'whether and how a government responds to the needs and suffering [of its people] may well depend on how much pressure is put on it. The exercise of political rights (such as voting, criticizing, protesting and so on) can make a real difference. For example, one of the remarkable facts is that no substantial famine has ever occurred in any country with a democratic form of government and a relatively free press.'

In Asia, human-rights activists are faced with the problem of how to translate the concept of international human rights into the fabric of specific cultural circumstances. Many people in Hong Kong appear to believe that a loss of democracy will not affect their economic well-being. When

結束一黨專政
Put an End to One-Party Dictatorship!

Banning democracy: demonstrators in Hong Kong as China takes over in July 1997.

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Tung Chee-Hwa was appointed Chief Executive of Hong Kong in July 1997, his opening speeches were filled with such phrases as: 'We will continue to encourage diversity in our society but we must also reaffirm and respect the fine traditional Chinese values, including filial piety, love for the family, modesty and integrity and the desire for continuous improvement.'

Under his authority, we have seen the establishment of a Provisional Legislative Council which replaced the more democratically elected Legislative Council. Whilst this situation is temporary – elections are scheduled for May 1998 – some people in Hong Kong are concerned that this precedent may erode democratic development.

Our hope though is that human-rights education and the importance we in Hong Kong place on values such as the rule of law, a free press, an independent judiciary and government accountability, will gradually flow across the border into mainland China. We believe that in time all citizens of China will enjoy more of the rights we have worked so hard to attain in Hong Kong. Many people are also working hard to win them on the mainland. Such rights will help curtail the corruption that is rife in so many Asian countries.

In Hong Kong, many of us realize that no society can become complacent and that, to maintain the rights we now enjoy as a Special Administrative Region of China, we will have to remain ever-vigilant.

In this respect the West has been less than helpful. The 1990s have seen the promotion and protection of human rights in Asia take a backward step – in part due to the West's hypocrisy in relation to human rights. The desire of the Western powers to trade with the enormous potential markets of Asia – China in particular – have seen an erosion of their commitment to human rights. Phrases like 'constructive engagement', put forward by Western leaders and business people, have become common currency: a simple term that is merely a convenient excuse to maintain trade with repressive governments.

But we have also seen the strengthening of regional groupings such as the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) that refuse even to debate issues of 'constructive engagement' – or Asian values. Confrontation may not always be the best way to move the human-rights agenda forward, but the need to maintain principles cannot be overstated.

The challenge on human rights is to go beyond rhetoric to rationality. Asian governments (with the exception of Taiwan) all belong to the same United Nations that produced the Declaration on Human Rights 50 years ago. This brings with it responsibilities as well as privileges – responsibility is an 'Asian value' that governments in the region frequently emphasize. These governments should be asked to reaffirm their commitment to the universality of human rights rather than undermining the existence of international treaties with talk of 'Asian values'.

It is time to take up the many real challenges that confront Asian people. We must move away from the confusing discussions about human rights as a concept and return to the fundamental reasons for the existence of international human rights instruments.

First and foremost among these is the ability to meet the needs of the less fortunate and to express our solidarity with them. 'Asian values' have not prevented the current famine in North Korea; nor did they manage to stop the genocide in Cambodia during the late 1970s; nor are they resolving the many conflicts currently simmering in our region.

We need to find real solutions for our many Asian problems – not to hide behind the convenient shield of bogus terminology. As the former President of Singapore Devan Nair says: 'Human values are human values.' The challenge for those of us supporting and promoting human rights is to find a way to blend them with cultural values without compromising their universality. If human rights are to be effectively implemented, they must take root within civil society as well as through the law.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is still the cornerstone of human-rights standards. The anniversary of the Declaration should provide us, Asian people and Asian governments alike, with the momentum to turn those rights into reality. ■

Angela Lee Nga Kam is Human Rights Education Officer at Amnesty International's Hong Kong Section.

1997

…AS SEEN FROM THE **PERSPECTIVE** OF THE **MAJORITY WORLD**

OUR MEDIA FEED US NEWS DOMINATED BY RICH-WORLD EVENTS AND PREOCCUPATIONS.
HERE THE **NI** REDRESSES THE BALANCE WITH AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW OF THE YEAR'S KEY EVENTS.

JANUARY

FORTRESS EUROPE Over 300 illegal immigrants from India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka die in a sea collision in the Mediterranean on Christmas Day.
BURMA Opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi is allowed to speak outside her home for the first time for months – to a crowd of 1,500.
INDIA The Bodo Security Force blows up the Brahmaputra Mail train in Assam, killing dozens. It is the most powerful of 40 armed insurgent groups in the north-east.
WORLD The Worldwatch Institute says Western governments are spending $500 billion a year subsidizing the destruction of oceans, atmosphere and land – $100 billion on power stations that worsen global warming, $300 billion encouraging destructive farming and overgrazing and $50 billion on promoting overfishing.
RWANDA Hutu extremists launch a new wave of killings, targeting Tutsi survivors of the genocide.
EGYPT Four Muslim militants are sentenced to death and 13 others given prison terms by a military court for attacks that left three police dead and 28 injured.
MEXICO clears a $12.5-billion-dollar loan from the US which helped the country stave off default in 1995. Finance Minister Guillermo Ortiz, who has overseen a disciplined austerity program, is now pushing to close the divide between the export industry and the local economy.
GUATEMALA Foreign governments and international banks pledge $1.9 billion to support the peace accords signed at the end of the 36-year civil war.
ALBANIA Demonstrators show their anger at the collapse of three pyramid investment schemes. In the capital, Tirana, over 20,000 clash with the authorities, demanding the return of their money and the resignation of the Government. President Berisha assumes emergency powers.
YUGOSLAVIA Tens of thousands of protesters take to the streets of Belgrade in an attempt to step up pressure on President Milosevic to reinstate pro-democracy parties' victory in the local elections.
SOUTH AFRICA Security police finally admit to a role in the killing of black leader Steve Biko in 1977.
CHECHNYA Former Soviet colonel Aslan Maskhadov wins the presidential elections with 64.8 per cent of the vote. Guerrilla leader Shamil Basayev polls 27.7 per cent and then announces that he is to give up politics.

FEBRUARY

WORLD Over 2,900 people from 137 countries attend the Microcredit Summit in Washington DC, which launches a campaign to get credit to 100 million poor people by 2005.
SOUTH AFRICA imposes an immediate ban on the use and production of all antipersonnel landmines. It also decides to dispose of its entire stock of 160,000.
PAKISTAN Nawaz Sharif of the Muslim League wins a landslide victory in the National Assembly elections. Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party is crushed, but Bhutto insists the elections were rigged.
RWANDA The Red Cross decide to pull out most of their aid workers after four are killed in an ambush in Cyangugu province.
INDONESIA sees the birth of its 200-millionth citizen.
NIGERIA The registration of voters gets under way, the first stage in the replacement of General Sani Abacha's military regime.
ECUADOR Two million march against President Abdala Bucaram's Government during a 48-hour national strike, prompting Congress to vote him out of office. Bucaram had been pushing through neo-liberal economic reforms with US approval but his administration was blatantly corrupt. Vice-President Rosalia Arteage takes over till new national elections at the beginning of 1998.
WORLD Relief agencies brief the UN Security Council for the first time ever. They try to galvanize the world into action in Africa's Great Lakes region.
BURMA Government troops go on the offensive, attacking Karen National Union (KNU) guerrilla camps. 16,000 refugees flee to Thailand to join the 700,000 who have fled in past years. The Army intends to clear the area ready for international investment.
TAJIKISTAN Six hostages, the last of the 16 held by Tajik warlord Bakhrom Sodirov, are freed unharmed. They were taken in attacks on UN and Red Cross staff. Freedom comes after President Rakhmonov agreed to allow 35 fighters from Afghanistan to join Sodirov.
CUBA secretly invites 100 US business leaders and celebrities to a $500-a-head dinner in Havana to help celebrate 30 years of the Cohiba cigar.
BRAZIL Thousands of landless people set off to march from São Paulo to the capital, Brasilia. Part of the Sem Terra ('Without Land') Movement, they demand speedy land reform and a stop to the violent clampdown on protests. The march will take two months and arrive on the anniversary of the killings of 19 farmers who occupied a private ranch in Para State.
MEXICO Anti-drugs czar General Rebollo is sacked for drug-related corruption. The US is annoyed because it had been passing him sensitive information while he was under Mexican investigation.
KENYA Thousands of students march through the streets of Nairobi in protest at the death of student leader Solomon Muruli.
YUGOSLAVIA The opposition to President Milosevic crowns three months of street protest by installing one of its leaders as Mayor of Belgrade.

MARCH

WORLD The President of the UN General Assembly unveils a plan to reform the Security Council, creating five new permanent members – Japan, Germany and one each from Asia, Latin America and Africa. The current permanent members will resist plans to restrict their existing veto.

The UN Food & Agriculture Organization reports that the rate of global deforestation slowed down in the five years to the end of 1995. But the world still lost an area of forest twice the size of Italy in that period.

ALBANIA Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi resigns after fighting between rioters and police leaves nine dead and many injured. A state of emergency is called

MOVIMENTO DOS TRA

Flying the flag: the two-month march (see February and April) of landless workers in Brazil.

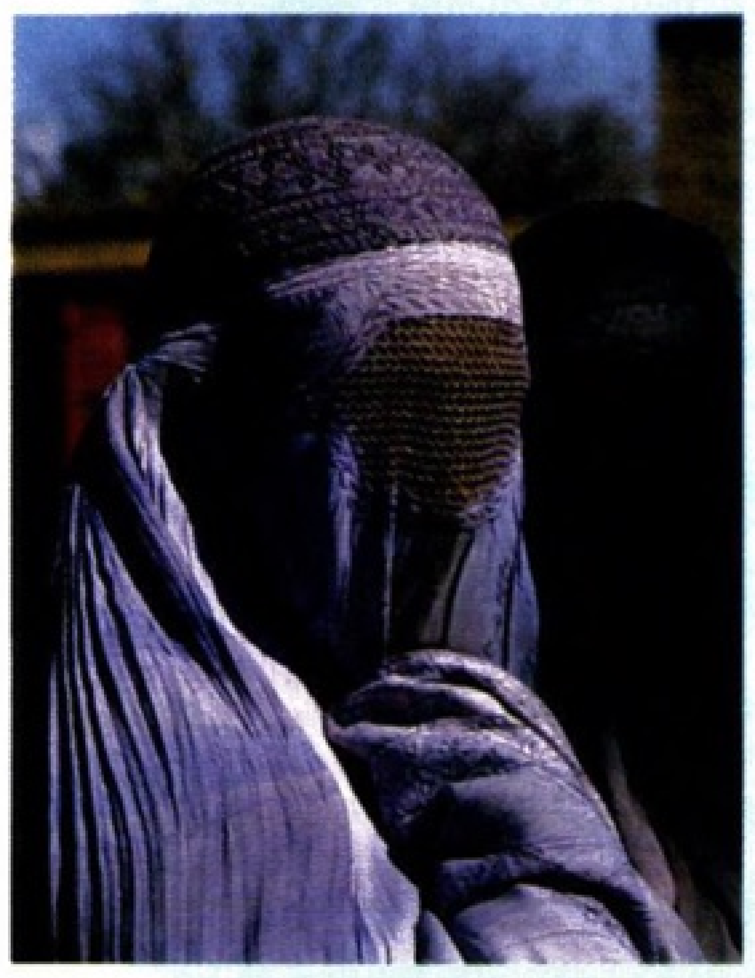
PAUL SMITH / PANOS

AFGHANISTAN War on women

THE YEAR BEGAN WITH THE TALIBAN – the army of Islamic extremists which now controls most of the country – forcing 12,000 villagers out of their homes and on an 80-kilometre march through the snow towards Kabul. An unpropitious start for the ordinary people of Afghanistan. And especially for its women, who are being forced on another journey – back to the twelfth century, in what British journalist Maggie O' Kane has called 'the greatest assault on womanhood in nigh on a millennium'.

Since the Taliban overthrew the Government on 27 September 1996, a series of decrees have made women's lives nearly impossible.

They are no longer allowed to work. This has meant that the Government is unable to function properly since half of its employees were women. It has meant that families for whom the woman was the main wage-earner are left without an income. Education for girls is forbidden – their schools have been closed down. And in September 1997, women were told they could not even go to hospital. A women's hospital would be built. This would, unfortunately, take months. The closure of the hospitals to women was permitted by the World Health Organization but thanks to an international outcry, it has not been carried out.


Behind the veil: women have disappeared from the streets and public places.

JENNY MATTHEWS

But Afghanistan's women have disappeared. Enveloped in *burquas* from head to foot, beaten for showing their ankles, stoned to death for adultery, they remain prisoners in their own homes. There are no women's voices any more. Even the sound of their feet has been silenced. They must shuffle along in special slippers.

Meanwhile, the Taliban are still fighting. They control the southern two-thirds of the country but in the north are waging war against Abdul Rashid Dostam, a former communist and an avowed secularist, and Ahmed Shah Masood, a moderate Muslim. Investors like Unocal, a US oil corporation and the Argentine-based Bridas, are waiting for the Taliban to win control over the whole country so they can start work on a gas pipeline.

Mario Lopez Olacireegui, managing director of Bridas, is not concerned about the Taliban's human-rights violations. 'We are just an oil and gas company,' he said. 'We are not bothered by human rights or politics.'

So far only Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have given the Taliban official recognition, though they are actively seeking a seat at the United Nations. ■

as rioters seize army weapons and prepare for full-blown rebellion.

IRAN Hundreds die and thousands are injured as an earthquake hits the remote, mountainous province of Ardabil. The quake measures 5.5 on the Richter Scale and rescue efforts are hampered by driving snow and high winds.

IRAQ Saddam Hussein sues the French magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur* for libel. An article they published described him as a 'poor simpleton', 'a cretin' and 'a monster'.

PAKISTAN A runaway passenger express crashes into a sandbank and kills 126 people. It had been switched to a dead-end line to avert a head-on collision.

ETHIOPIA Drought sweeps through the southern and eastern parts of the country after the failure of last year's October rains. The area's largely nomadic population suffer as their cattle die from exhaustion and disease.

BRAZIL The Senate lifts a 17-year ban on women wearing trousers in the country's legislative chamber.

The lower house of the Congress backs a bill which will end a 40-year state monopoly of the oil and gas industries. The decision is expected to lead to massive private-sector investment.

SRI LANKA Tamil Tigers launch heavy attacks on an army and airforce base in the heaviest fighting for months. The attacks leave over 200 dead.

CARIBBEAN Two of the region's most respected Leftist leaders die a matter of days apart: the former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley and President Cheddi Jagan of Guyana. In Guyana Prime Minister Samual Hinds takes over the presidency.

BOSNIA The first Bosnian Muslims to be charged with war crimes appear before the UN Tribunal in The Hague. Manfred Nowal, the UN envoy for missing persons, resigns in protest at the lack of progress in accounting for the 25,000 people still missing from the Bosnian war. He was hampered by lack of international support for excavating suspected mass graves.

JORDAN/ISRAEL A Jordanian soldier opens fire on a bus carrying a party of Israeli schoolgirls, killing seven and wounding six. The schoolgirls were on a trip to visit a site on the River Jordan known as the Island of Peace.

NIGERIA Exiled Nobel laureate Wole Soyinka and 11 other dissidents are charged with treason by the military government in Lagos following recent bomb blasts.

EL SALVADOR Both parliamentary and local government elections show big gains for the former left-wing rebels, the FMLN. They capture through democracy what they failed to in combat as the capital San Salvador falls to the mayoral campaign of FMLN candidate Hector Silva.

TIBET/TAIWAN/CHINA The exiled Buddhist leader of Tibet, the Dalai Lama, meets the President of Taiwan. Beijing denounces both as 'Splittists' and threatens them with military force.

BELARUS President Alexander Lukashenko tightens his control in Belarus, claiming the people welcome a return to a Stalinist dictatorship. He plans a return to the Soviet tradition of mandatory weekend unpaid labour.

AUSTRALIA Parliament overturns the world's first directly pro-euthanasia law, nine months after its introduction in Northern Territory.

APRIL

CAMBODIA At least 16 people are killed and 150 injured when grenades are thrown into a demonstration headed by opposition leader Sam Rainsy. Second Minister Hun Sen is accused of involvement.

KUWAIT A female professor at Kuwait University is sacked for suggesting that homosexuality exists in the country.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan stands down after weeks of allegations that he paid foreign mercenaries (supplied by a British firm) $24 million to put down the rebel uprising on the island of Bougainville.

IRAQ The Government starts to distribute the first rations under its oil-for-food deal with the UN. The deal allows Iraq to sell two billion dollars' worth of oil over six months to meet Iraqis' humanitarian needs.

BURMA The US imposes economic sanctions banning new investment by American companies after international condemnation of Burma's human-rights record. Hardliner General Tin Oo, known for threats to 'annihilate' opponents of the military regime, is sent a parcel-bomb which instead kills his daughter.

ROBERT MORT / CAMERA PRESS

Bridge to democracy: Aung San Suu Kyi remains under close control in Burma.

CHILE Argentina warns the US that the proposed sale of 18 F-16 fighter jets to Chile could provoke a regional arms race. The billion-dollar deal will go ahead when the US lifts its 20-year ban on selling weapons to Latin America.

HAITI More than 85 per cent of the electorate fails to vote in national elections.

ANGOLA The Government of National Reconciliation sits for the first time in Luanda, bringing together enemies from one of Africa's bloodiest civil wars.

TRANSNATIONALS 20 workers in South Africa are paid over two million dollars in compensation by a British chemical company, after being poisoned by mercury.

BANGLADESH Results from a survey conclude that agricultural output has dwindled because of the unplanned use of chemical fertilizer and toxic pesticides.

WORLD The heads of three UN agencies launch a major campaign to end female genital mutilation, which is suffered by two million girls each year.

SOMALIA The Belgian Government decides to 'prosecute without mercy' a soldier for urinating on a dead Somali. Two other paratroopers are charged with assault after burning a Somali civilian.

SAUDI ARABIA Hundreds die as fire hits a tent compound near the Islamic holy city of Mecca. Strong winds fan the flames through the crowded encampment causing panic and many are crushed while trying to escape.

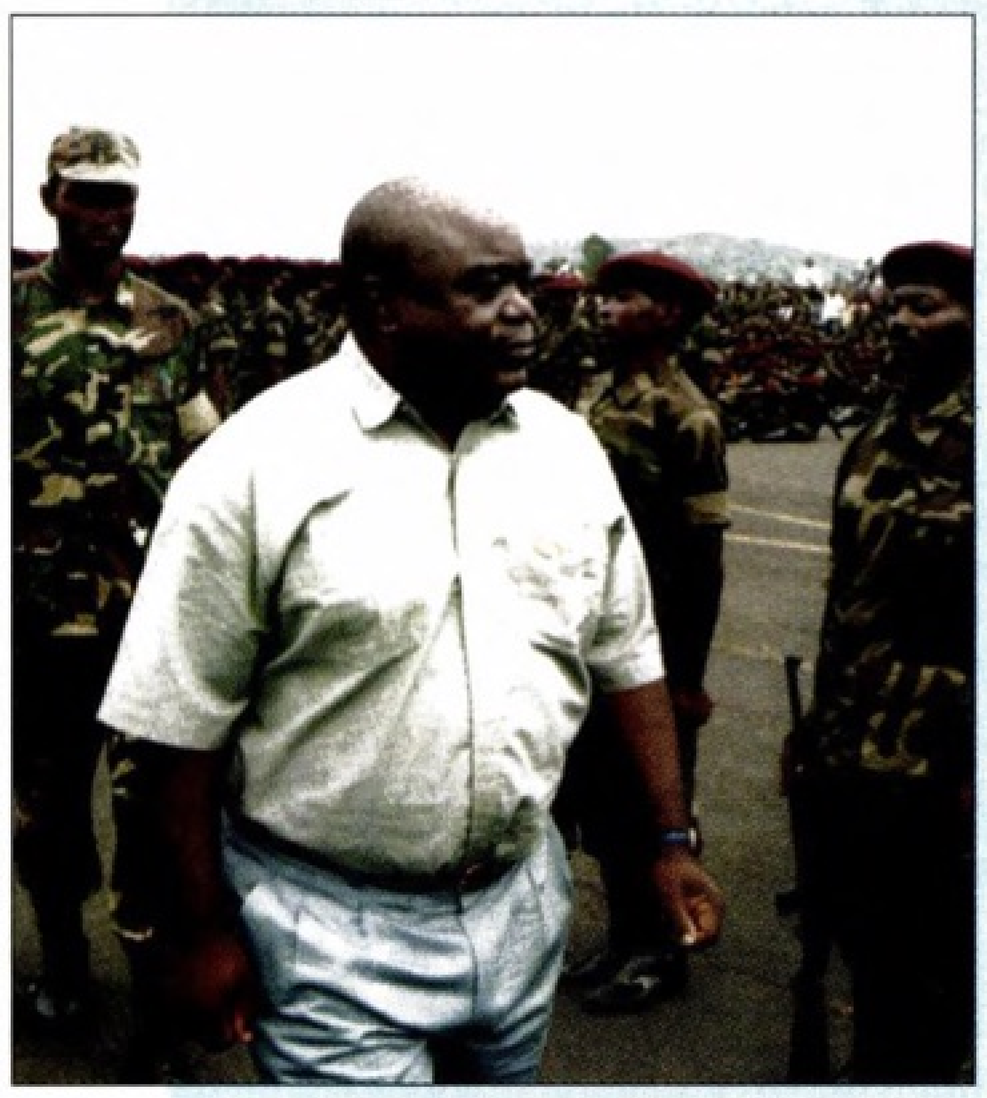
ISRAEL Police recommend filing criminal corruption charges against Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu over the appointment of Attorney-General Ronni Bar-on. Clashes between Israeli troops and Palestinian demonstrators continue, especially in Hebron.

BRAZIL The landless marchers reach Brasilia after 700 kilometres and two months. The streets are lined with 120,000 people to welcome them. Politicians promise to

ZAIRE/CONGO New era or the same old song?

1997 WAS THE YEAR THAT MANY AFRICA-WATCHERS had been eagerly awaiting – when, after 32 years in power, Mobutu Sese Seko's corrupt, degraded but iron-fisted grip was finally prised away from Zaire. He lived just long enough to see his own downfall and died in September after some years of ill-health and treatment in expensive Western clinics.

By then his country was under new management – and had even reverted to its former name, being now titled The Democratic Republic of the Congo. His downfall, as it turns out, was the terrible events in neighbouring Rwanda in 1994, where the Hutu genocide of Tutsi people led to the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front winning power. A million Hutu refugees took refuge over the border in Zaire and, though many returned home in the course of 1996, their presence was a destabilizing influence on the whole of eastern Zaire. Tutsis who had lived in eastern Zaire for hundreds of years were threatened with expulsion and responded by taking on the inept Zairean army (supported by the Rwandan Government).


PHOTONEWS / GAMMA

Laurent Kabila – deliverer or dictator in the making?

Despite Mobutu's desperate attempts to hold firm – in March he even recruited Serb mercenaries as reinforcements – the army from the east was unstoppable, especially when it was focused by the leadership of Laurent Kabila, who had opposed Mobutu from the eastern bush for 25 years. Negotiations involving South Africa's President Mandela failed to arrive at an orderly transfer of power and Kabila's rebel army took the capital, Kinshasa, in May.

Kabila's first months in power have been dominated by an international dispute: he ends up in conflict with the UN over his refusal to allow a team to investigate allegations that his forces systematically slaughtered Hutu refugees as part of their drive to power. The evidence of human-rights groups suggests that Hutus were deliberately targeted with a view to weakening the power of Hutu militias in the east of the country.

The affair has not fostered confidence that Kabila's regime will be markedly different from Mobutu's. He has already been accused of showing little more respect for democratization and human rights than his predecessor, though he has always insisted that there would have to be an interim 'stabilizing' phase before democratic elections can take place. There are signs that a new Tutsi élite has taken up residence in the hilly suburbs of Kinshasa.

But the stakes are so high that cynicism is inappropriate: the Congo has such enormous potential mineral and agricultural wealth that it could act as an engine for African development in general if channelled correctly. And Kabila forms part of a nexus of new African leaders – Eritrea's Afwerki, Ethiopia's Zenawi, Angola's dos Santos and Sudan's Garang – who met in the 1970s in a climate of shared idealism under the auspices of Tanzania's Julius Nyerere. ■

speed up land reform and the World Bank offers more money. The Sem Terra activists will believe it when they see it.

A former police officer is sentenced to 450 years' imprisonment for the massacre of 21 residents of a Rio slum. The symbolic judgement is welcomed by human-rights activists.

ST HELENA One of Britain's last dependencies, the tiny island of St Helena (to which Napoleon was exiled), goes into open revolt against its dictatorial British Governor, setting the only police-van on fire.

PERU The longest hostage siege in Latin American history (126 days) ends as a military strike on the Japanese ambassador's residence frees 71 hostages unharmed. The 72nd is killed along with all 14 of the Tupac Amaru guerrillas, some of them while trying to surrender.

GUATEMALA The first rebels are demobilized.

CHINA executes three people and gives 27 others jail sentences for involvement in riots in the Xinjiang region. All are members of the Turkic speaking Uighur minority. Tibetan monk Chadrel Rinpoche is imprisoned for six years for 'colluding' with the Dalai Lama in the search for the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama.

SUDAN President Bachir and five southern leaders sign a peace agreement in Khartoum promising a referendum on independence for the south in four years' time. But key southern leader John Garang is absent and no agreement will stick without him. His Sudan People's Liberation Army takes Yei, capturing rebels of the West Nile Bank Front who have been terrorizing northern Uganda.

BULGARIA The liberal Union of Democratic Forces wins the election after mass protests brought down the Socialist government. They launch a crusade against the corruption that has been rife since the end of communism.

AFRICA The US unveils its economic-recovery program for sub-Saharan Africa, stressing trade and investment rather than aid. The 'African Growth and Opportunity Act' will extend duty-free treatment to additional products from the region, and will next year establish a $150m equity-investment fund and a $500m infrastructure fund.

MAY

WORLD The International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague convicts the Bosnian Serb Dusna Tadic of crimes against humanity. It is the first conviction for war crimes since the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials half-a-century ago, and the first by an impartial body.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions calls for a code to protect flower workers against dangerous chemicals and unsafe conditions: more and more flowers bought in the rich world are produced in countries such as Colombia and Uganda.

BRITAIN The moderate (New) Labour Party wins a landslide election victory, ending 18 years of Conservative rule. It pledges a more ethical approach to arms exports and will ban anti-personnel landmines.

Radioactivity from Sellafield's nuclear-reprocessing plant is having more impact in the Arctic than the Chernobyl disaster, according to a Canadian report.

CHAD Transnationals Exxon, Shell and Elf announce plans to spend $3.2 billion on developing three oilfields and the World Bank will part-finance the 1,600km pipeline to the Cameroon coast. The economy will double in size in ten years as a result. But tribal groups will have to be resettled, say environmental groups, who also ask if any of the expected six billion dollars in royalties will reach the poor.

IRAQ/UNITED STATES The CIA has spent $110 million in six years on failed attempts to overthrow Saddam Hussein.

WESTERN SAHARA James Baker visits the camps of the Saharawi refugees in Algeria, having been appointed as Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General to try to revive the peace plan between the liberation movement, Polisario, and Morocco, which occupies the former Spanish colony.

SOUTH AFRICA Over 8,000 applications for amnesty have been received by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

BURUNDI The world's worst typhus outbreak for 50 years has affected 20,000, mainly in camps guarded from Hutu rebels by the Tutsi-dominated army.

SIERRA LEONE Only a year after the first democratic election in 30 years, the military retakes power.

AUSTRALIA A government report condemns the twentieth-century genocide of Aboriginal people. Between 1918 and the 1970s mixed-race Aboriginal children were taken from their parents. Light-skinned children were put in white families and dark-skinned ones in bleak orphanages.

TURKEY The Army kills 1,000 Kurdish (PKK) separatists in another incursion into northern Iraq, apparently invited by the Iraqi-based Kurdish Democratic Party.

RUSSIA President Yeltsin announces that Russia will no longer target nuclear warheads at the 16 countries of the Western military alliance.

IRAN Relative liberal Mohammed Khatami wins overwhelmingly in the Presidential election, with 70 per cent of the votes. Young people see it as a vote for change from the strict Islamic codes. But his room for manoeuvre is likely to be small.

An earthquake in eastern Iran kills 2,400 and leaves 40,000 homeless; it was ten times more violent than Japan's 1995 Kobe earthquake.

Elephantine task: The Convention for International Trade in Endangered Species ensures that the ivory trade will continue to be banned (see SOUTHERN AFRICA, June).

FRED HOOGERVORST / PANOS

JOHN COBB / PANOS

Smoke and fire – running battles in the streets of Mombasa, Kenya (see July).

JUNE

WEST The Socialists win a crushing victory in France while in Canada Jean Chrétien's Liberal Government hangs on to power.
SIERRA LEONE The leaders of the military coup join with rebels of the Revolutionary United Front to resist diplomatic attempts to restore democracy. Neighbouring states Nigeria, Guinea and Ghana launch a naval bombardment of the capital but they are dealt a humiliating defeat by the revolutionary forces of Major Johnny Paul Koroma. The irony of Nigerian forces intervening to protect democracy escapes no-one.
INDONESIA The ruling Golkar party wins 74 per cent in the election. It successfully undermined the potentially dangerous opposition of Megawati Sukarnoputri by engineering her ousting as leader of the Indonesian Democratic Party. She urged her supporters not to vote.
SOUTHERN AFRICA Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe urge relaxation of the ban on the ivory trade but are defeated in the Convention for International Trade in Endangered Species.
CONGO Heavy fighting rages between government forces and militias loyal to ex-President Sassou-Nguesso. France's President Chirac intervenes to arrange a ceasefire.
TURKEY Islamist PM Necmettin Erbakan resigns under pressure from the Army, which values the pro-Western, secular state founded by Kemal Atatürk. Secularist Mesut Yilmaz takes over.
WORLD Irish President Mary Robinson is appointed the new UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Amnesty International accuses rich countries of using all legal and administrative means to deter refugees from seeking asylum.
ANGOLA The UN mission in Angola finds no evidence of the government offensive claimed by UNITA. There are fears that Jonas Savimbi and UNITA are seeking a pretext to restart the war.
MUSLIM WORLD Leaders of the world's biggest Muslim states, meeting in Istanbul, launch a new group for political and economic co-operation, partly to counter the Group of Seven rich economies.

Egypt is holding more than 17,700 political prisoners, mainly Islamists, and many have not been tried, says the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights.
TRANSNATIONALS McDonalds wins a pyrrhic victory in its libel suit against campaigners Helen Steel and Dave Morris. The longest case in British legal history laid bare the company's treatment of animals, the environment and its own workforce.

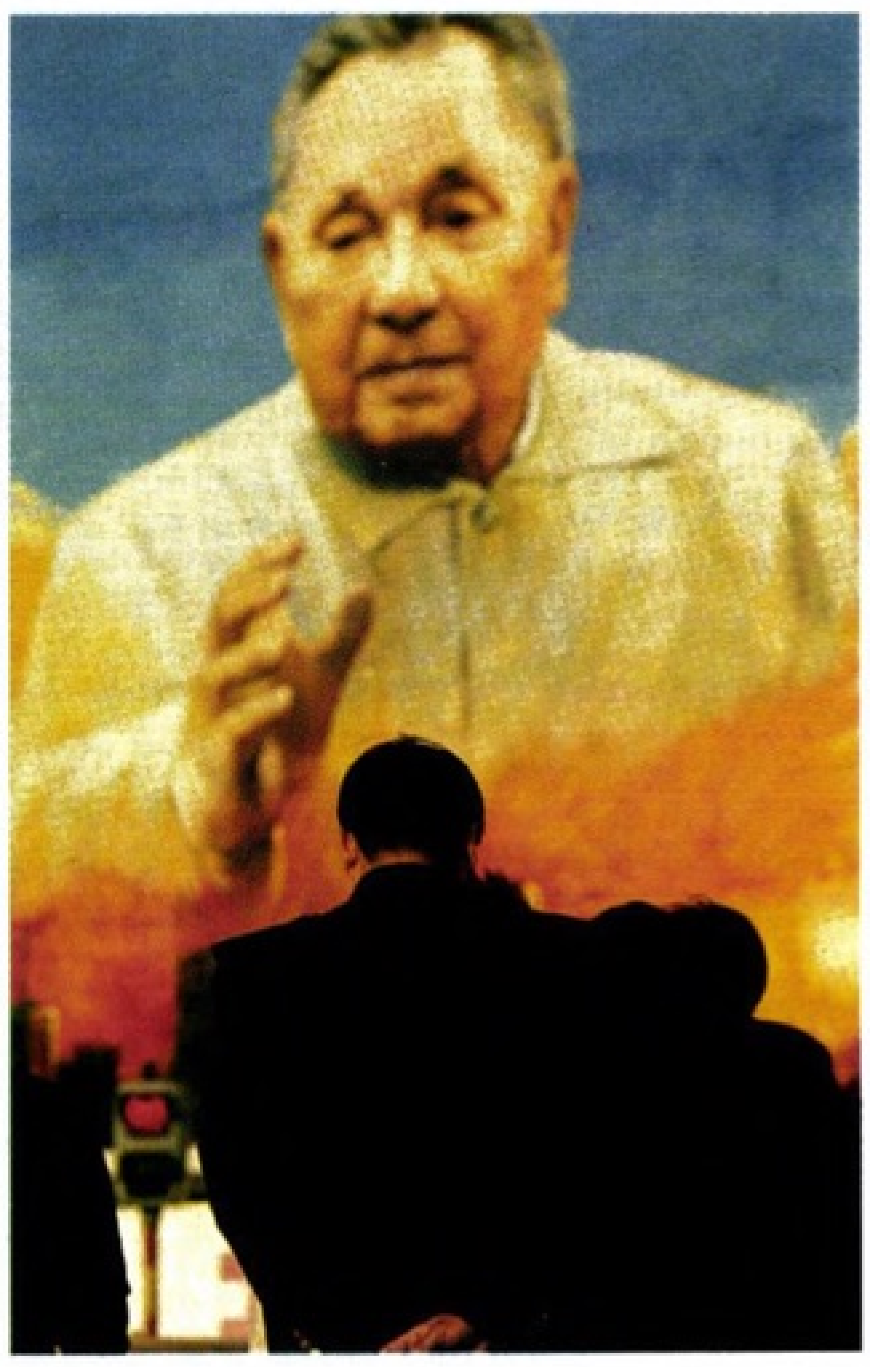
JULY

CHINA The former British colony of Hong Kong is officially handed over to China (see box).
SOMALIA Two Belgian paratroopers who were photographed roasting a child over a fire during the UN peacekeeping operation in Somalia are acquitted. The court accepts their claim that they were merely playing a game with the child.
ALBANIA In an election free from the violence of preceding months, the ruling Democratic Party suffers a crushing defeat at the hands of its Socialist rivals.
WORLD The Earth Summit review conference ends in a shambles with no clear agreements on new aid for developing countries or protecting forests. Developing countries' anger at the rich world's broken promises on aid dominates the summit.

El Niño causes such heavy rainfall and flooding that a state of emergency is declared in Ecuador. It is simultaneously thought to be causing drought in Indonesia. This abnormally warm current in the Pacific occurs every few years and causes havoc to weather patterns all over the world.
WORLD BANK calls for a greater role for government, saying economic and social development is impossible without 'an effective state', reversing its previous enthusiasm for minimalizing government. The Bank is also to assess the full impact of its policies on the poor in a review aimed at overcoming the 'incredible antagonism' of many governments and citizens' groups.
EAST TIMOR Guerrilla leader David Alex dies after he is captured by Indonesian forces.
EGYPT A court overrules the Government's ban on female genital mutilation being practised in hospitals and clinics. It rules that the ban is 'contrary to Islam'.
MEXICO The PRI, which has ruled for most of the century, suffers heavy election losses, losing control of the lower house as well as the capital city, where veteran leftwinger Cuauhtémoc Cardenas becomes mayor.
KENYA The worst unrest in seven years as thousands of students demanding constitutional change fight riot police. Western nations urge President Moi to introduce political reforms or face suspension of aid and loans.
CAMBODIA Second Prime Minister Hun Sen stages a coup against first Prime Minister Prince Norodom Ranariddh. Some royalists are summarily executed and looting ensues in the capital. All 19 independent or opposition newspapers cease publishing. Pol Pot is arrested and put on trial by former Khmer Rouge colleagues.
UKRAINE Pragmatist Valery Pustovoitenko is confirmed as Prime Minister. His priorities are to stimulate private enterprise, reduce taxes and cut the size of the shadow economy.
UNITED NATIONS Kofi Annan spells out his plans for reform of the UN, including the elimination of 1,000 jobs; a new post of Deputy Secretary-General in charge of collaboration among UN organs; and a new cabinet-style structure. The US says it will support the establishment of three permanent seats on the UN Security Council for developing countries.
CUBA The remains of Che Guevara are returned to Havana from Bolivia. They receive an emotional hero's welcome.
SIERRA LEONE joins Nigeria in being suspended from the Commonwealth until it moves back to democracy.
NORTHERN IRELAND The IRA declares a new ceasefire, raising hopes that Britain's new Labour Government will put the peace process back on track.
BRAZIL Faced with rampant illegal logging, the Government is to open the timber reserves in the Amazon rainforest to commercial

CHINA The dragon after Deng

THE EYES OF THE WORLD were fixed more closely on China than in any year since the Tiananmen Massacre of 1989, thanks to a unique moment in the history of decolonization. Hong Kong, which had been ruled by Britain since the end of the First Opium War in 1842, was handed back to China at midnight on 30 June. One of the ultimate symbols of Asian capitalism was embraced by the country which for so many years symbolized Communism.



Death of Deng: but China's future direction remains unknown.

CHRIS STOWERS / PANOS

Except that these days China itself is more likely to be seen as a symbol of dynamic growth and thrusting entrepreneurialism than of egalitarian idealism. The architect of this vast change in the economic direction of the world's most populous nation, Deng Xiaoping, finally died in February at the age of 92, after years in which he had been only nominally consulted. The last survivor of The Long March generation of Communist politicians, Deng combined ever-accelerating economic liberalism with ruthless suppression of democratic dissent, which many would see as the worst possible political combination.

For years people have been anticipating the change that could spring from Deng's death, but when it came the handover to his chosen successor, 70-year-old former Mayor of Shanghai Jiang Zemin, could not have been smoother. Jiang has shown signs of being more outgoing. He travelled to the White House to meet Bill Clinton and is clearly steering China towards playing a full part in the globalized world economy. Partly to this end, he succeeded in pushing through the fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party sweeping plans for the privatization of state industries.

The economic aspect is not what is worrying the people of Hong Kong, of course – their primary concern is how long their traditional freedom of speech will be preserved as part of the official 'one country, two systems' approach. Even before the handover the new Beijing-approved legislature passed laws giving the authorities stronger powers over demonstrations and tighter regulations governing political parties – and China admitted this year that it is holding 2,026 people in jail for 'counter-revolutionary' crimes. But Hong Kong's position would have been enormously enhanced had Britain bothered to institute a genuine democratic system while it still had control. ■

INDIA AT 50 Looking back

1997 WAS AN EVENTFUL YEAR FOR INDIA. In politics, the ruling coalition under Deve Gowda collapsed and Inder Gujral of the United Front took over as Prime Minister. In July, history was made when a Dalit ('Untouchable'), KR Narayanan, was elected as President.

At the same time India was using another event in its history to re-evaluate its present. On 14 August India remembered 'its 'tryst with destiny', as Jawarharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, called the day of independence. It was a time for sober reminiscence as well as celebration, as **Urvashi Butalia** noted*:

'The political partition of India caused one of the great human convulsions of history. Never before or since have so many people exchanged their homes and countries so quickly. In the space of a few months, about 12 million people moved between the new, truncated India and the two wings, East and West, of the newly created Pakistan. By far the largest proportion of these refugees – more than ten million of them – crossed the western border which divided the historic state of Punjab, Muslims travelling west to Pakistan, Hindus and Sikhs east to India.

'Slaughter sometimes prompted and sometimes accompanied their movement; many others died from malnutrition and contagious disease. Estimates of the number of dead vary from 200,000 (the contemporary British figure) to two million (a later Indian speculation) but that somewhere around a million people died is now widely accepted. As always, there was sexual savagery: about 75,000 women were thought to have been abducted and raped by men of religions different from their own. Thousands of families were divided, homes were destroyed, crops left to rot, villages abandoned.

'Astonishingly, the new governments of India and Pakistan were unprepared for the convulsion. They had not anticipated that the fear and uncertainty created by the drawing of borders based on head-counts of religious identity – so many Hindus and Sikhs versus so many Muslims – would force people to flee to what they considered "safer" places, where they would be surrounded by their own kind. People travelled in buses, cars, and trains, but mostly on foot in great columns, called *kafilas,* which could stretch for dozens of miles. The longest of them, said to comprise 400,000 refugees travelling east to India from western Punjab, took eight days to pass any given spot on its route.' ■

A gold balloon to celebrate independence in Delhi - but not all memories were as joyous.

BARTHOLOMEW / LIAISON

* From 'Blood' by Urvashi Butalia (*Granta* No 57, Spring 1997).

loggers on a 'controlled' basis.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA Reformist Bill Skate wins the election.

LIBERIA Warlord Charles Taylor wins through the ballot box the power he formerly tried to take by force in the civil war following his invasion from Côte d'Ivoire in 1989. He receives more than 70 per cent of the vote.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA Burma and Laos are admitted to the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), a free-trade area of 500 million people. Cambodia's application is shelved.

AFRICA France is to slash its troop numbers in Africa as part of a less interventionist approach to African affairs.

TURKEY In an attempt to curtail the power of Muslim fundamentalists, the Government introduces a new law restricting religious education.

AUGUST

LATIN AMERICA A summit of heads of government sees Argentina opposing Brazil's bid for permanent membership of the UN Security Council. Chile is resentful of Argentina's new status as most-favoured ally of the US in the region.

NIGERIA is voted most corrupt country in the world in a survey of businesspeople and political analysts. Bolivia and Colombia come second and third.

FRENCH GUYANA Protesters calling for independence from France clash with police.

SUDAN Some 400 rebels from John Garang's Sudan People's Liberation Army are killed during an attack on their camp by government forces.

BRAZIL More than 20 Amerindians who were thought to have committed suicide in despair at the modern world's encroachment may have been murdered to gain possession of their land, according to a report signed by two judges.

SOUTH AFRICA The killers of former Communist leader Chris Hani appeal for amnesty. FW de Klerk, the last white president, resigns as leader of the National Party.

PAKISTAN Parliament passes a controversial bill countering the threat of terrorism from rival religious sects by giving the security forces sweeping new powers.

THAILAND The economy collapses, causing a domino effect in East Asian markets. A $16-billion IMF rescue package is put together. Thailand's ratio of loans to GDP is 125 per cent.

IRAN President Khatami appoints a woman, Massoumeh Ebtekar, as Vice-President, and Ayatollah Mohajerani – a known liberal who believes in a tolerant Islam – as Cultural Affairs Minister.

PERU President Fujimori's post-hostage popularity is in tatters as he is accused of domestic espionage, wiretapping and harassment of journalists and opponents.

BOLIVIA Former dictator (1971-1978) General Hugo Banzer is elected President on the populist slogan 'Bread, a roof and a job'.

TRANSNATIONALS Greenpeace is crippled by BP's British court order freezing its assets and demanding $2.2 million in compensation for its occupation of an oil rig. Meanwhile five US tobacco companies are forced to pay the state of Florida $11.3 billion compensation for public-health costs.

TAJIKISTAN President Rakhmonov signs a UN-mediated peace accord in Moscow with the mainly Islamic United Tajik Opposition. The five-year war has cost 50,000 lives. But violence does not end as entrepreneur generals nominally loyal to the President use personal militias to fight over economic spoils.

In memory of a Princess: Diana's final tribute may be a ban on landmines.

I Love You
This Much

RICHARD OPEN / CAMERA PRESS

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC France announces it will pull out its troops for the first time since independence. Civil war is feared following army mutinies last year.

CONGO A European-supported African peacekeeping force is on the cards until the UN starts deliberating whether or not to send one. It decides againstand the civil war resumes.

WORLD A report shows that the global arms market grew in 1996 with total sales of $31.8 billion – $19.3 billion to developing countries. The top two sellers, the US and Britain, increased their share of the world arms market. The fastest-growing arms markets are in East Asia, where defence budgets are increasing by ten per cent a year.

MONTSERRAT Volcanic eruptions have driven away half of the population of 11,000 in one of Britain's last remaining colonies. British handling of the crisis is roundly criticized by islanders and the region's governments.

ZAMBIA Former President Kenneth Kaunda survives an assassination attempt.

BRITAIN Diana, Princess of Wales, dies in a car crash in Paris soon after her trip to Sarajevo in support of a worldwide ban on landmines. Ironically her death may increase the chances of a landmine ban.

SEPTEMBER

INDIA Mother Teresa dies after a long life in which she became a symbol of charity to the poorest. She had already been succeeded as leader of her Calcutta-based Catholic Missionaries of Charity by Sister Nirmala, a convert from Hinduism.

BANGLADESH In a rare judgment in favour of an abused woman, four police officers are sentenced to death for raping and murdering a teenage girl.

Bangladesh's land border is formally opened to traders from Nepal for the first time ever as India grants transit through the 60-kilometre corridor that separates the two countries.

COMOROS The small island of Anjouan tries to secede. Government troops sent from Grand Comore to quash the rebellion are repelled.

IRAN President Khatami appoints the first-ever director for women's affairs, the third woman given a key role in the new Government.

WORLD The text of a treaty banning anti-personnel landmines is agreed in Oslo – the first-ever treaty to limit a conventional weapon. Campaigners are delighted the treaty is not watered down to accommodate the US, which announces it will not sign up to the treaty.

By setting up a bogus CFC trading company in London environmental campaigners prove the widespread smuggling of ozone-destroying chemicals worldwide.

ANGOLA The UN imposes a ban on the rebel movement, UNITA, for failing to comply with the 1994 peace accords.

SRI LANKA The Government's latest offensive against the Tamil Tigers, called Operation Sure Victory, has left 1,400 dead since its launch in May. But for the third year a ceasefire allows the vaccination of two million children against polio.

MALAYSIA becomes the next Asian economy to suffer the domino effect as its currency, the *ringgit*, goes into freefall. Mahathir Mohamed introduces swingeing restrictions on share trading, undermining the confidence of global capital.

JAPAN announces it will slash overseas development aid by ten per cent. It currently provides 20 per cent of the total.

UNITED NATIONS Kofi Annan appeals to member states to pay their debts to the UN but is immediately rebuffed by the main debtor, the US. Media mogul Ted Turner donates one billion dollars to the world body.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA Uncontrolled forest fires raging in Indonesia produce a filthy smog that envelops the whole region. The air-pollution index in Kuching, Malaysia, reaches 655. A day's exposure to a level of 250 is equivalent to smoking 20 cigarettes.

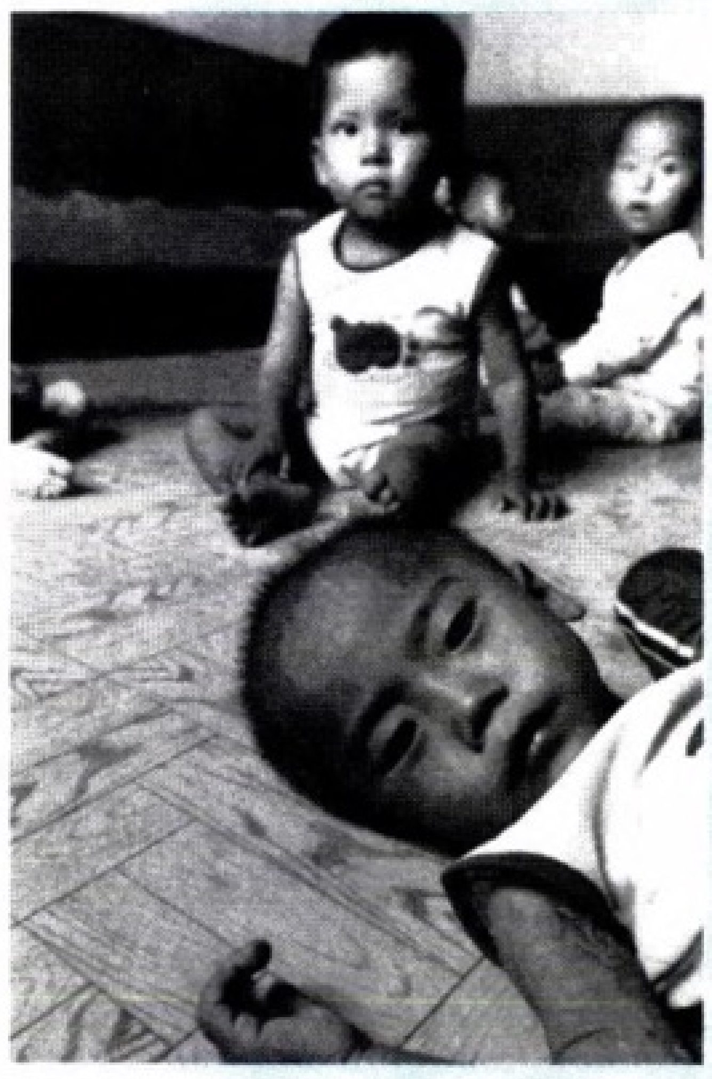
MEXICO The Zapatista National Liberation Front is launched in Mexico City but government hopes that Subcomandante Marcos will join the new political organization are dashed when he says the Zapatista guerrilla struggle must continue.

CHINA/KAZAKHSTAN China signs a deal pledging to invest $10 billion in the oilfields of Kazakhstan. This eclipses the 'deal of the century' done by a Western consortium to tap offshore oil in Azerbaijan. A pipeline will carry the oil to China from the Caspian region, which looks to be the oil centre of the twenty-first century.

NORTH KOREA Forgotten famine

ON 11 JULY THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME appealed for funds to feed North Korea's starving people. As many as 85 per cent of children are malnourished. There were claims that people were so hungry that they were eating corpses. But few people outside the country had even heard that there was a problem.

Why? Because the very word 'North Korea' conjures up images of Stalinism. North Korea has been called the 'world's least deserving government'. It has certainly been one of the most secretive countries in the world. Since the 1950s, when the communist North invaded its southern neighbour, the two countries have existed in a state of distrust, with a heavy demilitarized zone between them. But after the Cold War ended, North Korea began to emerge from its diplomatic isolation, entering the United Nations in 1991 and drawing up an agreement with the US in 1994. In August 1997 Kim Jong Il formally acceded to leadership of the ruling Korean Worker's Party, succeeding his father Kim Il Sung. Amnesty International issued a statement that this marked an opportunity for the country 'to cast off its isolationist tendencies and to develop dialogue and accountability on human-rights issues'.



Children in need: a toddler, too weak to sit up, in an orphanage in the city of Huichon.

There has been little sign of this, though the impending famine did bring North Korea, South Korea, China and the US together for the first time since the unofficial end of the Korean War in 1953.

Government officials maintain that the food shortage is a result of severe floods and storms in 1995 and 1996. But natural disasters were not the only cause. They aggravated the inherent problems of an inefficient agricultural system and a rigidly centralized economy in which vast resources are diverted to the military.

The US – for the first time in over a decade – is insisting that victims of a humanitarian crisis make political concessions in order to receive food aid. So far it has been the largest contributor to the food programme, with South Korea the second-largest.

In the meantime, the crisis worsens. Disasters this year have destroyed 70 per cent of the staple maize crop and the shortfall for 1998 is expected to be even greater than in 1997. Relief workers say that many people are surviving on just 100 grams of food per day – the equivalent of one bowl of rice. They say that people in rural areas are living off roots, tree bark and seaweed. ■

Banana wars: the European Union breached trading rules in favour of the Caribbean (see September).

PHILIP WOLMUTH / PANOS

CONGO Angola intervenes to end the civil war by overthrowing President Pascal Lissouba and installing his rival, Denis Sassou-Nguesso. Lissouba had aidied Angola's UNITA rebels.

WESTERN SAHARA Talks overseen by James Baker for the UN in Houston result in a signed agreement between Morocco and Polisario on the terms of a referendum on the future of the country to take place in late 1998.

BURMA In the biggest rally of the National League for Democracy in years, Aung San Suu Kyi calls for dialogue with the military regime. In a rare public appearance, long-time dictator General Ne Win visits President Suharto of Indonesia, fuelling the belief that Ne Win is still a power behind the scenes in Burma.

WORLD BANK The World Bank predicts that by 2020 the biggest five developing countries – Brazil, China, India, Indonesia and Russia – will have 50-per-cent more world trade than the European Union. At the moment Europe has three times more trade.

TANZANIA President Benjamin Mkapa pleads for food aid, declaring a national food emergency and banning food exports.

KENYA Opposition politicians vow to disrupt this year's elections unless President Moi enacts constitutional reforms.

ECUADOR The Secoya people find themselves divided by a heavily guarded barrier erected as part of the border dispute between Ecuador and Peru.

NIGERIA Slave traders in West Africa are buying children from poor villages in countries such as Benin and Togo to sell to Nigeria's middle classes as servants, goat herders and prostitutes.

COLOMBIA The sacred lands of the U'wa people are under threat of oil exploration. They are uninterested in government compensation offers and declare that if their lands are exploited they will commit mass suicide.

PHILIPPINES President Ramos seeks to change the constitution to allow himself a third term in office. He is faced with mass protests. Muslim rebels threaten to re-ignite civil war if more funds are not released to improve the conditions of Muslims.

CAMBODIA The IMF and World Bank suspend all financial programs in protest at Hun Sen's coup in July. The US and Germany also suspend aid.

SOUTH AFRICA Nelson Mandela visits Robben Island and the prison in which he spent 20 years to declare it a national heritage site. The prison is now a museum.

CARIBBEAN/EUROPE The World Trade Organization rules that the European Union has breached trading rules by allowing freer access to Caribbean banana producers (who have ten per cent of the European market) than to the US transnational Chiquita (which has 70 per cent of the market).

OCTOBER

INDONESIA The Government revokes the permits of 29 companies it believes started the forest fires still raging and causing appalling smog all over South-East Asia.

AMAZON Less noticed than the Asian forest fires, an even greater area of the Amazon rainforest (26,000 square kilometres) is burning as ranchers and peasants exploit the abnormally long dry season to clear land for farming.

UNITED STATES Congress bans the import of goods made by forced or bonded child labour.

ISRAEL/PALESTINE Sheik Ahmed Yassin, spiritual leader and founder of Hamas, is released from prison by Israel and leaves for Amman, thanks to a bungled Mossad attempt to assassinate another Hamas leader in Jordan. Later 22 Palestinian prisoners are released as part of a compensation deal agreed with Jordan's King Hussein.

WORLD The climatic effects of the El Niño warm current in the Pacific continue to be felt all over the globe. Half Colombia's provinces suffer droughts and forest fires. Floods in the eastern highlands of Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya displace thousands.

KENYA Opposition parties are refused the opportunity to register for the elections.

EGYPT The Government reverses previous egalitarian land reforms.

SRI LANKA Over 400 die in a battle between government troops and Tamil Tigers over the northern highway. Fifteen people are killed and over 100 injured in a truck bomb and gun battles in Colombo.

CAMBODIA Around 50,000 seek refuge in Thailand as fighting between Hun Sen and the Khmer Rouge continues. King Sihanouk leaves for China but former Khmer Rouge leader Ieng Sary throws his support behind Hun Sen.

In his first interview for 18 years, Pol Pot, now under house arrest on the orders of new Khmer Rouge leader Ta Mok, concedes his movement 'made mistakes' but denies that 1.5 million died under his rule.

CUBA Nationwide celebrations mark the thirtieth anniversary of Che Guevara's death. Fidel Castro announces his brother Raul as his successor.

SOUTH AFRICA Drug transnationals wage war with the health minister as she tries to reduce their prices in an attempt to create the country's first national health service.

CHINA Thousands of children in Hong Kong who were born on the mainland face deportation as a result of a new immigration law.

VIETNAM Scientists claim they have discovered a miracle herbal remedy – *Heantos* – which can cure addiction to heroin, cocaine and opium.

CONGO Fighting continues but Denis Sassuo-Nguesso is inaugurated as President, to the despair of many who remember his previous spell in power.

SOUTH KOREA The son of President Kim Young-sam is fined for bribery and tax evasion.

ZIMBABWE President Mugabe announces he intends to take five million hectares from white farmers to resettle thousands of black peasants – including the farm of former Rhodesian leader Ian Smith.

JAMAICA withdraws from the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights so it can hang 50 convicted murderers more quickly.

Long revolution: the thirtieth anniversary of Che Guevara's death was marked by disputes about his body.

A. OXLEY / CAMERA PRESS

COMMONWEALTH Human-rights activists are angered by the failure of Commonwealth leaders to impose sanctions on Nigeria.

INDIA/KASHMIR Four Kashmiri separatist leaders and their supporters are arrested at violent demonstrations marking the 50th anniversary of the arrival of Indian troops.

WORLD A conference on child labour in Oslo stresses the fight against poverty. Child workers who attended previous meetings were not allowed at this one.

ARGENTINA The opposition coalition has a resounding election victory over President Menem's ruling party. 'Mother of a disappeared' Graciela Fernandez Meijide emerges as frontrunner for the presidency in 1999.

COLOMBIA The elections are boycotted *en masse*. It is revealed that 10,000 child miners work in appalling conditions to support their families.

SWAZILAND Pro-democracy demonstrations are broken up by paramilitary police.

ZAMBIA President Chiluba resists an attempted military coup, saying 'those who rise by the sword die by the sword'.

IRAQ Iraq refuses to give UN weapons inspectors full access despite sabre-rattling from Britain and the US.

CANADA North America's biggest teachers' strike hits Ontario as 126,000 teachers walk out, barring 2.1 million pupils from school.

BOSNIA US donates weapons to the Muslim-Croat Federation's army, part of a $400-million package to train and equip it to achieve balance with Bosnian Serbs.

NOVEMBER

WORLD The financial mayhem in East Asia has effects all over the world. In Thailand Prime Minister Chavalit Yongchaiyudh resigns as a result of the continuing economic freefall, which has not been slowed by the IMF's rescue package. Indonesia agrees to a wide range of reforms in return for an IMF loan of $23 billion and immediately closes down 220 private banks.

IRAQ expels UN weapons inspectors and refuses to back down despite the threat of US/British military action, which does not materialize because of other Western powers' opposition. When weapons inspectors go back in it is seen as a victory for Saddam Hussein. Poor Iraqis continue to vote with their feet: there are now 100,000 Iraqi refugees in Jordan.

BANGLADESH A month-long boycott of parliament results in a street battle between police and opposition activists. The World Health Organization praises the country's anti-TB program as a model for the world.

ALGERIA Descent into despair

THE HUMAN-RIGHTS SITUATION IN ALGERIA has become one of those litanies of misery which makes us switch off when the media bothers to report on it. Some background may help you stay switched on.

- The country won its independence from France in 1962, led by the National Liberation Front (FLN), which from 1965 ruled in what was effectively a one-party state. By the 1980s the FLN's pre-eminence was under severe challenge, notably from Islamic fundamentalists. Mass protest and upheaval forced the Government to agree to a new constitution and multiparty politics.
- In 1991, in the first multiparty elections in Algerian history, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) won 188 of the 232 seats in the first round, compared with the Socialists' 25 and the FLN's disastrous 16. The FIS would certainly have come to power in the second round of voting but instead the military took over and imposed a state of emergency.
- The FIS was banned and any leaders who had not fled were imprisoned. The 400 councils it had been running since local elections were dissolved. In response the FIS formed an armed wing, the FIA, which has since been at war with the Government along with another, even more extreme Islamist group, the GIA.

Taking note: the world has largely ignored the conflict in Algeria which has claimed 80,000 lives.

PAUL HARRIS / CAMERA PRESS

- The civil war has intensified every year since then – and 1997 was the worst year yet. Islamic terrorists are clearly responsible for many of the killings: they have deliberately killed civilians they regard as supporting the authorities or whose lifestyle is considered to be 'un-Islamic'. They have also killed indiscriminately by placing an increasing number of bombs in public places over the last two years.
- But the Government is suspected of complicity in at least some of the massacres, which often take place in areas that voted heavily for the FIS.
- The biggest single massacre so far took place on 28 August 1997 in Sidi Rais, just south of Algiers, in which 300 civilians died. People fleeing from the atrocity asked for help from security-force units placed just outside the village but they failed to respond.

The regime's annulment of the election was initially seen by some as the safeguarding of secularism and development against Islamic fundamentalism. But it has produced the dirtiest and most terrifying of civil wars in which the Government has as much to answer for as its opponents. ■

BRAZIL fails in an attempt to launch the country's first-ever rocket into space.

Famous plastic surgeon Dr Pitanguy has provided a free service for thousands of Rio's poor: he insists poor people have a right to look beautiful too.

ZAMBIA In the wake of the attempted coup, the Government cracks down on mainstream political opponents. The Democratic Congress Party's President is detained and its Secretary goes into hiding.

BALKANS At the first-ever Balkan summit Greece, Romania, Turkey, Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia and Macedonia discuss peace and reconciliation.

KENYA Parliament votes to revise the country's constitution ahead of the 29 December elections to make it easier for opposition parties to participate.

ETHIOPIA Human-rights groups report hundreds of 'disappearances' and killings of opposition sympathizers.

JORDAN The announcement that 17 women are to stand for election draws support from women. But an Islamist boycott of the election ensures they make no progress.

BURMA Drug baron Khun Sa has now joined forces with the Government. He has gone into business and is using his opium profits to build a four-lane highway from Rangoon to Mandalay.

VENEZUELA will build a new town on its Colombian border to reclaim a lawless area from guerrillas and drug traffickers.

RWANDA Pressure from women's groups leads to 'rape as an instrument of genocide' being added to the charge-sheet at the War-Crimes Tribunal in Tanzania.

SOMALIA The UN appeals for millions of dollars of aid to help thousands of Somalians displaced by floods. 1,461 have died and 230,000 are displaced.

UNITED STATES Washington purchases 21 advanced Russian-made MiG-29C planes from Moldova just to keep them out of the hands of 'rogue' states. President Clinton claims he has done more than any other leader to rid the world of landmines, but the US will still not sign up to the Ottawa Treaty.

SUDAN Peace talks founder between the Government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army. There is no hope of a ceasefire until at least April 1998.

TURKEY The country's largest political party, The Welfare Party, goes on trial for promoting Islamic fundamentalism.

CZECH REPUBLIC An anti-racist rally in the capital sparks a wave of similar rallies in other cities protesting against the murder of Sudanese student Hussan Elamin.

AZERBAIJAN celebrates the first flow of oil from its Caspian Sea fields. By 2010 the country expects to extract over 700,000 barrels of oil per day.

BOSNIA Recently released secret documents reveal that in the first days of the war, Muslim paramilitary leaders murdered scores of Bosnian Serb civilians in Sarajevo.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC A two-day general strike protests against power cuts and the Government's neo-liberal policies.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA/ INDONESIA The drought attributed to El Niño shows no signs of easing up. Australia has been supplying emergency food aid to Papua New Guinea.

INDIA faces its third government collapse in three years as Congress withdraws from the ruling coalition and forces the Prime Minister to resign.

Over 3,000 male and female prostitutes meet in a Calcutta stadium to demand the protection of workers' rights.

Under the volcano: the people of Montserrat have been neglected by Britain.

BENOIT GYSENBERGH / CAMERA PRESS

ISRAEL/PALESTINE Prime Minister Netanyahu's attempt to withdraw six per cent of Israeli troops from the West Bank meets with right-wing opposition.

EAST TIMOR Indonesian soldiers storm the university campus in Dili to disperse demonstrators.

CHINA Democracy activist Wei Jingsheng is released from prison after 18 years. He goes to the US for medical treatment.

EGYPT Islamic fundamentalists kill 60 tourists in the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Luxor.

HUNGARY votes in a referendum to join NATO.

AUSTRALIA joins the Ottawa Treaty, and announces it will destroy its stockpile of 60,000 antipersonnel landmines.

SOUTH AFRICA Winnie Mandela is 'tried' by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which hears dozens of testimonies to her complicity in murder and torture.

MALAWI Former dictator Hastings Kamuzu Banda dies.

CAMBODIA Opposition leader Sam Rainsy returns from exile, having fled after Hun Sen's coup.

MONTSERRAT's people have been appallingly neglected by Britain for years, according to a report by visiting British MPs.

DECEMBER

WORLD The historic Ottawa Treaty banning anti-personnel landmines is signed.

At the climate summit, rich nations agree to reduce their 1990 level of emissions in the next 15 years: Europe by eight per cent, the US by seven per cent and Japan by six per cent. Australia is given special licence to increase emissions. The cuts are modest: rising use in the developing world will mean overall emissions go up.

AFRICA UN statistics issued on World AIDS Day show that two-thirds of the 30.6 million people in the world now thought to be HIV-positive are in Africa.

HONDURAS Carlos Flores of the governing Liberal Party wins 53 per cent of votes in the presidential election.

HAITI The three-year US peacekeeping mission comes to an end with the country still in chaos. There has been no prime minister since April due to election irregularities and this has already cost $120 million in lost foreign aid.

PAKISTAN is paralyzed by a bitter public slanging match between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and President Farooq Leghari. There are fears that the Army might take over but eventually it is the President who resigns.

BANGLADESH The Government signs a peace treaty with rebels in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, offering them limited autonomy after 24 years of insurgency and the loss of 8,500 lives.

CONGO Laurent Kabila employs Mobutu's spin doctor to improve his own image.

RWANDA Armed Hutu extremists free 600 who were in prison for their part in the 1994 genocide. The rebels are now about 10,000 strong. A later attack on a refugee camp leaves 200 Tutsis dead.

CHINA/UNITED STATES To Beijing's outrage, exiled dissident Wei Jingsheng is welcomed at the White House.

PAPUA Government apathy is leaving thousands to starve to death in both halves of New Guinea, say aid officials. More than a million people in the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya (West Papua) and an unknown number in Papua New Guinea depend on food drops, but governments are not supplying enough aircraft or fuel.

TRANSNATIONALS Tobacco advertising and sponsorship will be banned in the European Union by the end of 2006.

AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND's first-ever woman prime minister, Jenny Shipley, is sworn in as leader of the ruling centre-right coalition.

PHILIPPINES The Government is supporting a bill which would mean women who have abortions and doctors who perform them will face the death penalty.

NORTHERN IRELAND Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams becomes the first Republican leader to visit Downing Street since Michael Collins negotiated Partition.

JAMAICA opts for no change in an unexpectedly peaceful election.

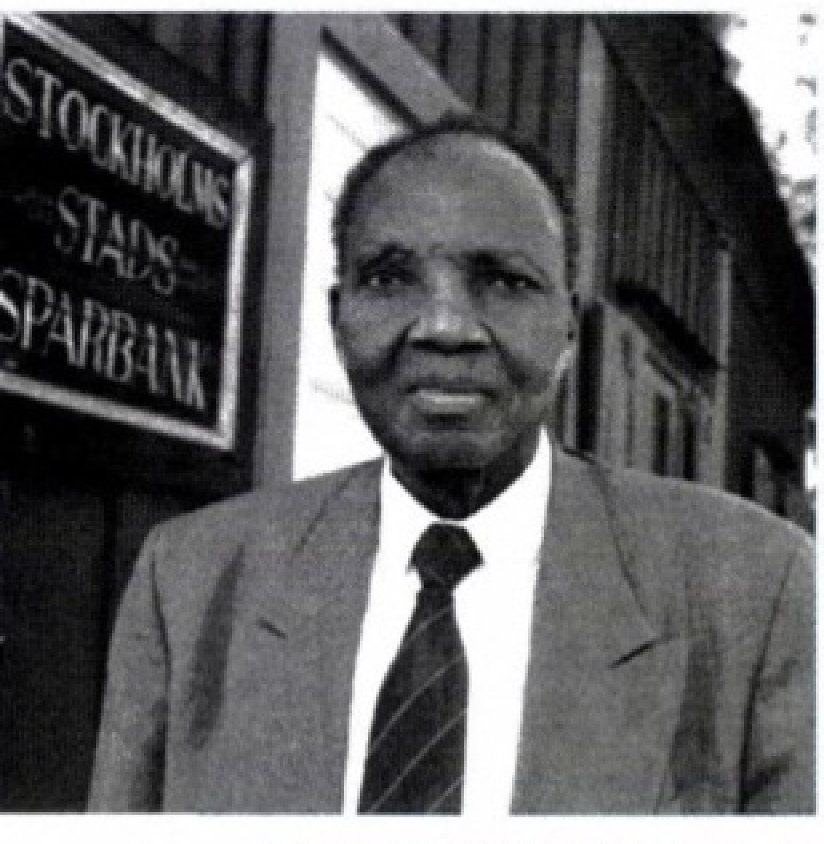
SOUTH KOREA Kim Dae Jung is elected president after a lifetime opposing first military dictators then the ruling élite. Popular discontent following the country's financial collapse produces the first-ever opposition victory.

Thanks to Lucy Baker, Georg Caspary and Dominic Taylor for their research.

1997 AWARDS Challenge and change

THE RIGHT LIVELIHOOD AWARD – often known as the Alternative Nobel Prize – has again recognized scholars and activists from four continents for their contributions to a sustainable future.

Joseph Ki-Zerbo, from Burkina Faso, was honoured 'for a lifetime of scholarship and activism that has both laid out the history of Black Africa and identified the key principles and processes by which Africans can create a better future'. Ki-Zerbo's achievements as a historian and his commitment to a democratic and authentically African process of development have inspired thinkers and social activists all over Africa. He has said: 'We must rebuild the identity from which the African peoples have become alienated by the vicissitudes of history and their own amnesia.' Ki-Zerbo is also leader of the opposition Party for Democracy and Progress but he acknowledges that he aims to spread ideas rather than win elections.



Joseph Ki-Zerbo, honoured for a lifetime of scholarship.

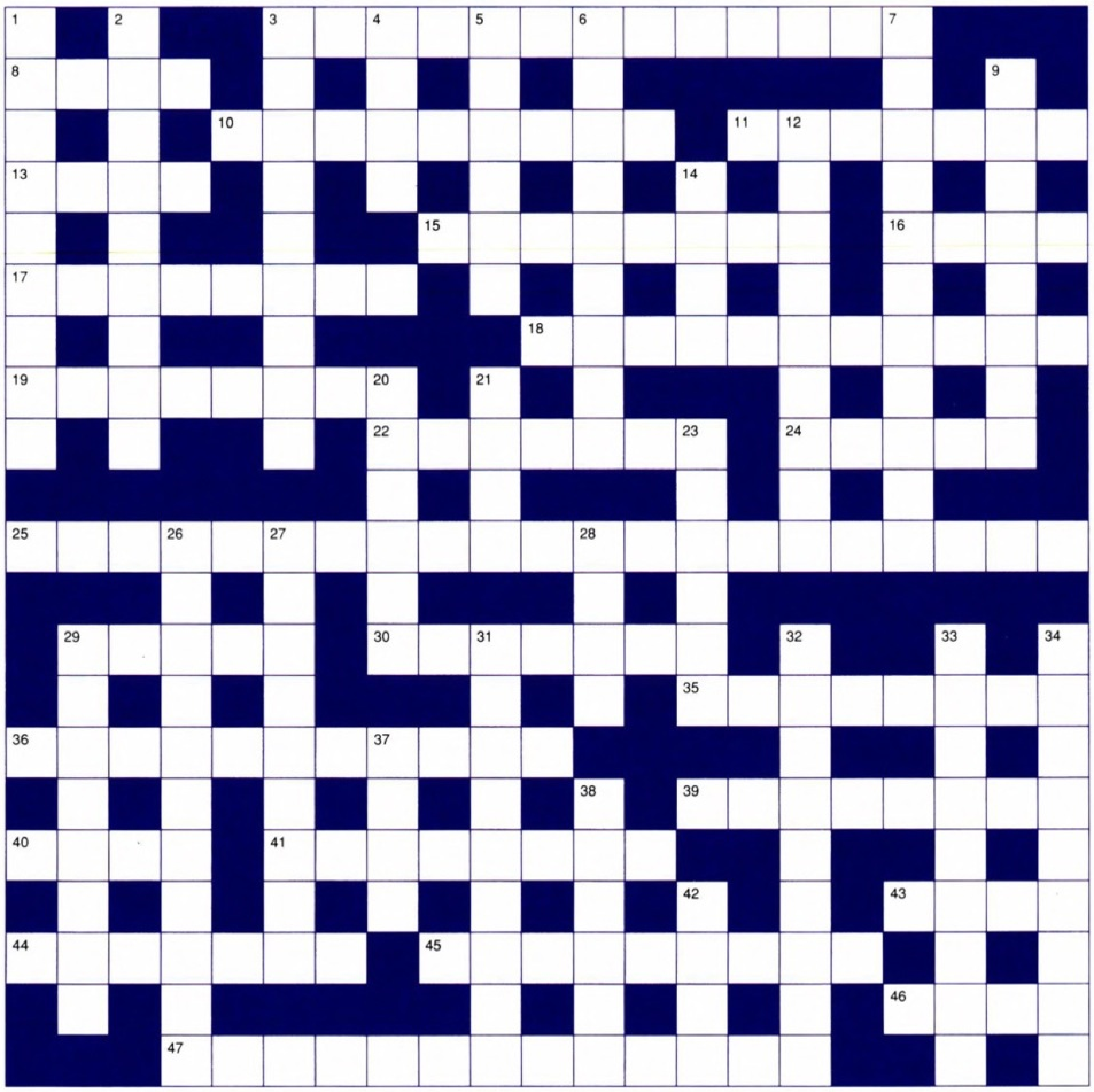
ASA NYQUIST/RIGHT LIVELIHOOD AWARD

Mycle Schneider from France and **Jinzaburo Takagi** from Japan have formed a unique partnership aimed at ridding humanity of the threat posed by the manufacture, transport, use and disposal of plutonium. Their scientific research is rigorous and they disseminate its results effectively, so that many people have been empowered to resist the misinformation and secrecy of the plutonium industry.

Cindy Duehring was training to be a doctor in the US when in 1985 she had her apartment treated for fleas by a common pesticide. Severely poisoned, she developed a disorder by which exposure to any chemical gives her seizures: she has not been out of her special sealed, non-toxic house in North Dakota since 1989 because breathing unpurified air triggers a bronchial shutdown. In 1986 she founded the Environmental Access Research Network which since 1994 has merged with the Chemical Injury Information Network, with 5,000 members in 32 countries.

Michael Succow is a conservationist who established six biosphere reserves and five national parks while a deputy minister in the post-Communist government of East Germany. Two of these have become showcase areas for organic agriculture, sustainable forestry, sensitive tourism and 'flowering landscapes'. Since then he has advised many other countries on how to do the same: he has helped establish seven parks/reserves in Georgia, covering a third of the country and others covering a third of Mongolia. ■

The **Jumbo NI** Crossword **No. 18** by **Axe**



QUICK

Across

- **3** Euphemism for the break-up of the Czechoslovakian federation in 1993 (6,7)
- **8** Non-Mongoloid original inhabitants of Japan (4)
- **10** Town of 3d, now Ciudad Bolivar, known for a drinks mixer (9)
- **11** Reeking or curing (7)
- **13** Nymph in love with Narcissus (4)
- **15** Area of SW France famous for its truffles (8)
- **16** Alternative spelling for a lake or an Islamic prince (4)
- **17** A wine centre, the 'capital' of Franconian Bavaria (8)
- **18** Eastern Europeans, formerly part of the USSR (11)
- **19** Serb or Montenegrin, currently (8)
- **22** Major Peruvian river-port on the Amazon (7)
- **24** Roof or arch (5)
- **25** It ended the first part of the British Empire? (3,8,10)
- **29** Forbidden city to all but Muslims (5)
- **30** Group of languages descended from Latin (7)
- **35** Region of NE Greece, capital Larisa (8)
- **36** Writings of the Old Testament, Hebrew ketuvim (11)
- **39** New European democratic republic, capital Bratislava (8)
- **40** Scottish 'kingdom' (4)
- **41** Tropical soil, the result of ferocious rock weathering (8)
- **43** The 27th President of the United States (1909-13) (4)
- **44** Sackcloth and ashes (7)
- **45** The area currently defined as the Anatolian Peninsula (4,5)
- **46** Paradisal garden? (4)
- **47** Industrial sites which involve cracking plants (3,10)

Down

- **1** Rivers and canals, perhaps (9)
- **2** Largest city of Alaska (9)
- **3** South American country whose name derives from an Italian city-state (9)
- **4** France's third city, on the confluence of the Rhone and Saone (4)
- **5** Book of 36, which tells the story of the eponymous subject and Mordecai (6)
- **6** He believes that only the strongest species evolve (9)
- **7** North American native as known by the world – and as she would prefer to be known (6-5)
- **9** Network of computers worldwide (8)
- **12** Of the period after the Dark Ages but before the Renaissance (9)
- **14** Member of a Germanic tribe (4)
- **20** 'The Grand ———', Ottoman Prime Minister (6)
- **21** Island reputedly discovered by Columbus in 1492-93 (4)
- **23** The machinery of Marxist-Leninist government (6)
- **26** Island group or chain (11)
- **27** Pertaining to the Gospels (9)
- **28** Rajput prince (4)
- **29** Biblical tribespeople from what is now Jordan (8)
- **31** Religious teacher – Sanskrit 'great sage' (9)
- **32** Prayers (9)
- **33** Malvinas (9)
- **34** Intricate (9)
- **37** Wine town of Italy's Piedmont (4)
- **38** Hydro-carbon, H3C,CH3 (6)
- **42** Wingless bird (4)

CRYPTIC

Across

- **3** Smooth split between 39 and Prague (6,7)
- **8** Greek character and one following a Japanese character... (4)
- **10** ...in yarn about half a Scottish family drinking bitter (9)
- **11** Six characters from inside 7 reforming. Note bad habit (7)
- **13** Mythical lass we hear from again and again (4)
- **15** Stir porridge when in the Dordogne (8)
- **16** Alternative one of 1 – or alternative Muslim leader (4)
- **17** Main town for dig to return to – but first the ancient city discovered in war-zone initially (8)
- **18** You, it's said, and I, need various inhalants to be Europeans... (11)
- **19** ...while you, it's said, need spirit to approach Indo-European – Serb, perhaps (8)
- **22** One to leave Ordnance Survey in rainforest town up the Amazon (7)
- **24** Jump for the camera? (5)
- **25** Re-animate Church and organize mutiny for the War of Independence (3,8,10)
- **29** Massachusetts takes in hundreds after oriental makes the pilgrimage objective (5)
- **30** Language of love? (7)
- **35** Nazi prisoner in Scottish river had left region in Greece (8)
- **36** Part of the Old Testament from a gig Pharaoh arranged (11)
- **39** Ex-partner to check the dubious spelling alluded to in 3a! (8)
- **40** Instrument of Scottish regional government? (4)
- **41** Slow to act – resulting in leached tropical soil (8)
- **43** Thin, silky materials afford safe exit for the President (4)
- **44** Penalty for the last to leave haunt of pirates (7)
- **45** Incontinent perhaps or a little continent? (4,5)
- **46** Point to the hideaway taken from Adam? (4)
- **47** Inferior eels one fishes in places for filling up tanks (3,10)

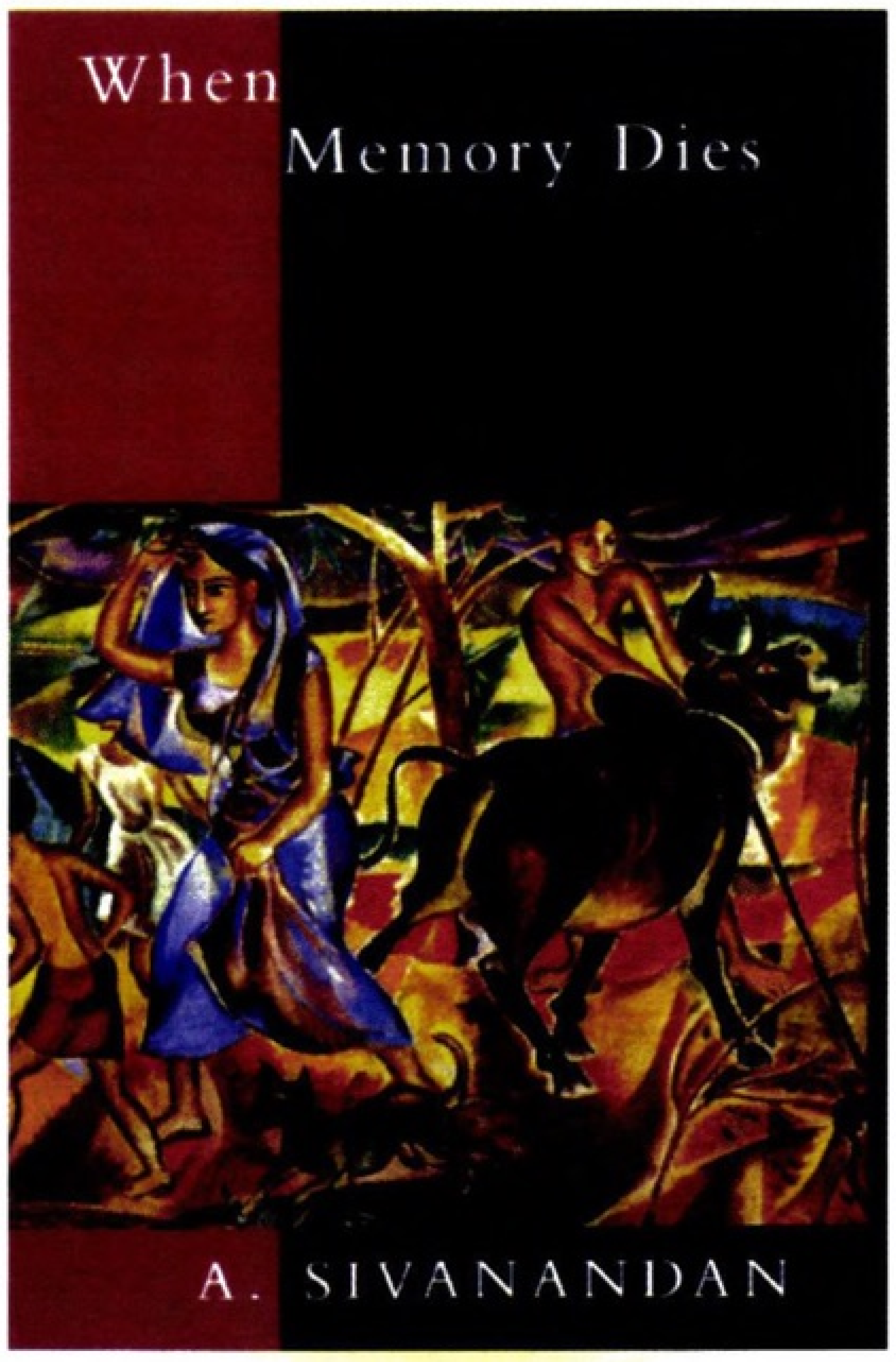
Down

- **1** Channels connected to the mains? (9)
- **2** The cost of docking in Alaska (9)
- **3** Country locks up three of the first four zealots in avenue of subversion (9)
- **4** Tannoy leaves message in code for French centre (4)
- **5** Her book comes together in threes (6)
- **6** First after Australian city to be selected – naturally, I believe! (9)
- **7** Canadian whose tokenism is punctuated by eleven universal symbols when thrown together (6-5)
- **9** Network that is alien to higher-placed trainee (8)
- **12** Press backed the French for victory in Europe before today (9)
- **14** Obtained top hurdler for race (4)
- **20** Queen follows leader, namely one Turkish minister (6)
- **21** Insular state of a youngster when on top (4)
- **23** Council get drunk embracing the French life (6)
- **26** Painfully parochial, eg the 33 (11)
- **27** Crusading missionary? (9)
- **28** Managed to get a position in India (4)
- **29** Dead Sea people having marks from attack by old bird? (8)
- **31** Religious instructor, master-spy – quiet one ... (9)
- **32** ... loves religious offerings (9)
- **33** Islands where the king disembarks are below Cornish river (9)
- **34** Founded anarchically in Zante, by, and of, tortuous character (9)
- **37** He's good in alkali-tinged wine (4)
- **38** Gas blowing match head out ignites gas! (6)
- **42** 29d's protagonist's one-time neighbour produces fruit (4)

LAST MONTH'S SOLUTION

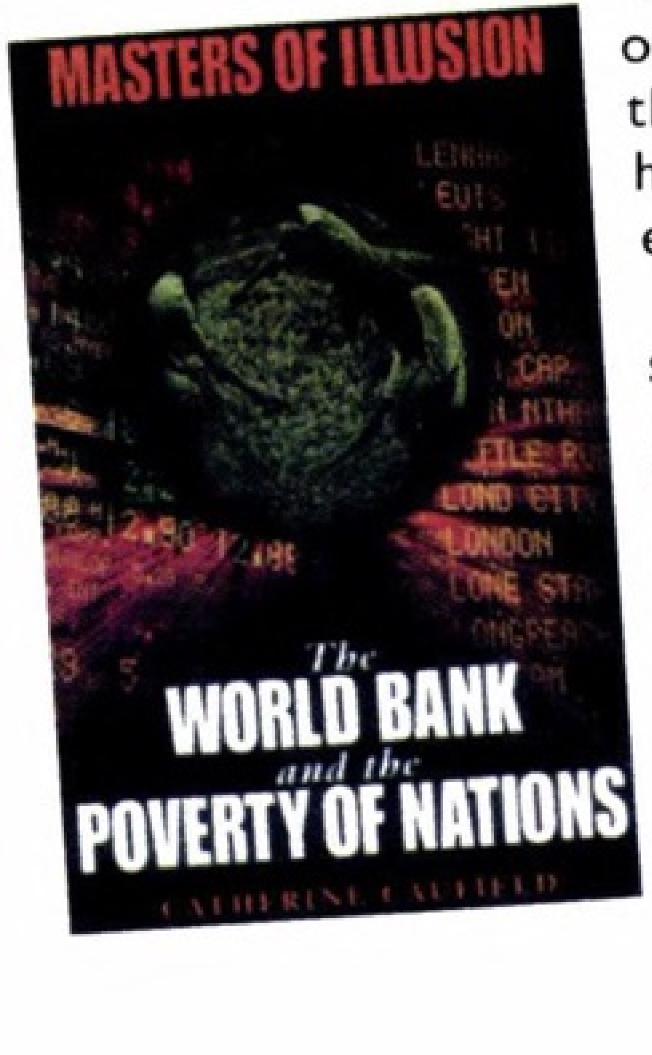
■	G	R	E	A	T	B	E	A	R	L	A	K	E	■
O	■	A	■	M	■	E	■	V	■	Y	■	R	■	C
T	A	I	Y	U	A	N	■	O	S	T	R	A	V	A
T	■	N	■	R	■	G	■	C	■	E	■	J	■	P
O	D	I	N	■	J	A	P	A	N	■	M	I	N	E
M	■	E	■	A	■	L	■	D	■	D	■	N	■	C
A	B	R	U	Z	Z	I	■	O	R	E	G	A	I	O
N	■	■	■	H	■	■	■	■	■	R	■	■	■	L
E	U	S	K	A	D	I	■	U	M	B	E	R	T	O
M	■	A	■	R	■	B	■	K	■	Y	■	I	■	U
P	U	P	A	■	C	A	I	R	O	■	T	V	E	R
I	■	P	■	A	■	R	■	A	■	A	■	I	■	E
R	H	O	N	D	D	A	■	I	N	B	R	E	E	D
E	■	R	■	I	■	K	■	N	■	E	■	R	■	S
■	F	O	N	T	A	I	N	E	B	L	E	A	U	■

Reviews
BEST of the YEAR



books
BEST of the YEAR

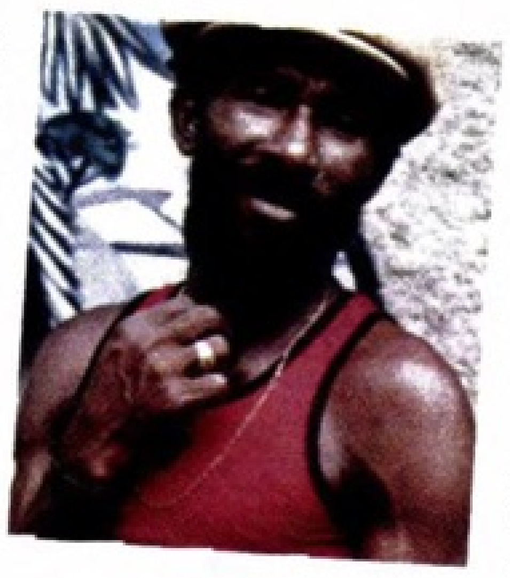
When Memory Dies by A Sivanandan *(Arcadia Books, ISBN 1-9000850-01-X)* – an epic account of Sri Lanka's slide into terror – comes out tops. Interweaving the personal and political, this novel spans three generations of a Sri Lankan family and pits the tenacity of the spirit against the brutalization of life. Sivanadan has long been a respected voice on race and class issues and the unflinching clarity with which he unfolds Sri Lanka's grief is rousing. **The Fabulous Sinkhole and other Stories** by Jesus Salvador Treviño (*Arte Publica Press, University of Houston, ISBN 55 885 129 1*) also rates high among the year's fiction. A first-rate collection of stories, it's set in an Hispanic barrio of the fictional Texan town of Arroya Grande. The author moves from high comedy to righteous anger and stitches these disparate tales together with a novelistic skill of the highest order. Arundhati Roy's **The God of Small Things**, set in the southern Indian state of Kerala, is a sparkling and outstanding first novel – but this Booker Prize winner has had media coverage enough.



On the non-fiction shelf, Catherine Caulfield's **Masters of Illusion: the World Bank and the Poverty of Nations** *(Macmillan ISBN 0-333-66262-8)* achieves the hitherto impossible task of prising open the clam-shell of the World Bank and revealing the bogey within. Caulfield shows with facts rather than rhetoric how highly educated staff of the Bank have backed one disastrous project after another, constantly ignoring local realities and shunning the poor they are supposed to help. In quite a different vein **Songs at the River's Edge: Stories from a Bangladeshi Village** by Katy Gardner *(Pluto Press ISBN 074531094X)* is a beautifully and simply written account of the author's 15-month stay in the Bangladeshi village of Talukpur. The accent is on the personal rather than the anthropological. Gardner neither patronizes nor glamourizes the villagers but repays their trust by conveying their lives and experiences with dignity and respect. Finally in **Slow Reckoning /The Divided Planet** Tom Athanasiou puts the case that ecological sense and social justice have no alternative but to go hand in hand more articulately and convincingly than ever. *(Britain: Secker and Warburg ISBN 0 436-202 82-4; North America: Little, Brown ISBN 0-316-056359)*

music
BEST of the YEAR

Choosing just one or two records each month for **NI** means that many magnificent albums don't quite make it. Nick Cave and the Bad Seed's **The Boatman's Call** *(Mute)* and Patti Smith's **Peace and Noise** *(Arista)* are two such examples, although both records echo with a mature humanity and consummate artistry. But there have been some real gems among the 20 or so records reviewed in 1997's **NI**: Lee Scratch Perry's maverick reggae of **Arkology** *(Island)*; Mary Coughlan's pure Irish voice of **After the Fall** *(Big Cat)*; and the haunting sounds of Panta Rhei and Coope, Boyes and Simpson's **Passchendaele Suite** *(No Masters Co-op)*. Yet of the 20 it's Cesaria Evora's **Cabo Verde** *(BMG)* which exercises the loudest siren call. A 66-year-old grandmother with a penchant for cigs and whisky, Evora sings the Cape Verde blues. For all their, at times jaunty, sadness, Evora's songs offer a transcendence in their telling and, in so doing, a lingering effect.



film
BEST of the YEAR

By far and away the most intriguing film of the year was **Square Circle** directed by Amol Palekar. A highly unusual blend of avant garde politics and Bollywood-style packaging, it deals with the developing relationship between a male transvestite folk singer and a young kidnap victim he persuades to cross-dress for her own safety. It's a brave, wryly funny offering, with insightful things to say about male privilege and women's lack of power.

Michael Winterbottom's **Welcome to Sarajevo** was one of those rare items – a thought-provoking, mainstream feature film dealing with a serious international issue. Based on the true story of an English journalist's rescue of a young girl from a frontline orphanage, it skilfully brings alive the mundane realities of a city under siege as well as incorporating news footage of the actual horrors. It raises more questions than it could ever answer about the critical (and cynical) inefficacy of the so-called 'international community' – and the role of the media. The tension between the vulture-like exploitation of carnage, the need to get the message across as dramatically as possible, and the more human urge to intervene, is nowhere so painfully exposed.

Finally, it's still hard to believe that **Secrets and Lies**, directed by Mike Leigh, went unawarded at this year's Academy Awards, while nine oscars went to *The English Patient*. The story of a young black woman's discovery of her birth mother is at once tragic, pathetic and comic. The extraordinary sensitivity of Leigh's film, its nuanced understanding of issues of race and class, and its palpable realism, take it to the heights of the social realist genre. And the acting is so good it's invisible.

Reviews

books

Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life

by **Jon Lee Anderson**
(Bantam Books ISBN 0 553 40664 7)

Fire Under the Snow: Testimony of a Tibetan Prisoner

by **Palden Gyatso**
(Written by Tsering Shakya with a Foreword by the Dalai Lama)
(Harvill Press ISBN 1 86046-116-6)

WHEN, on 9 October, 1967, the Bolivian military captured and killed the 39-year-old guerrilla leader, Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, he was already a world-famous figure. The attempts to cover up his murder – his hands were amputated and he was secretly buried – only added martyrdom to the myths and legends gathering around his name. In the 30 years since his death, Che Guevara has become one of the icons of the century; Cuban children chant 'We will be like Che!' and his image emblazons everything from bedsit posters to beer bottles.

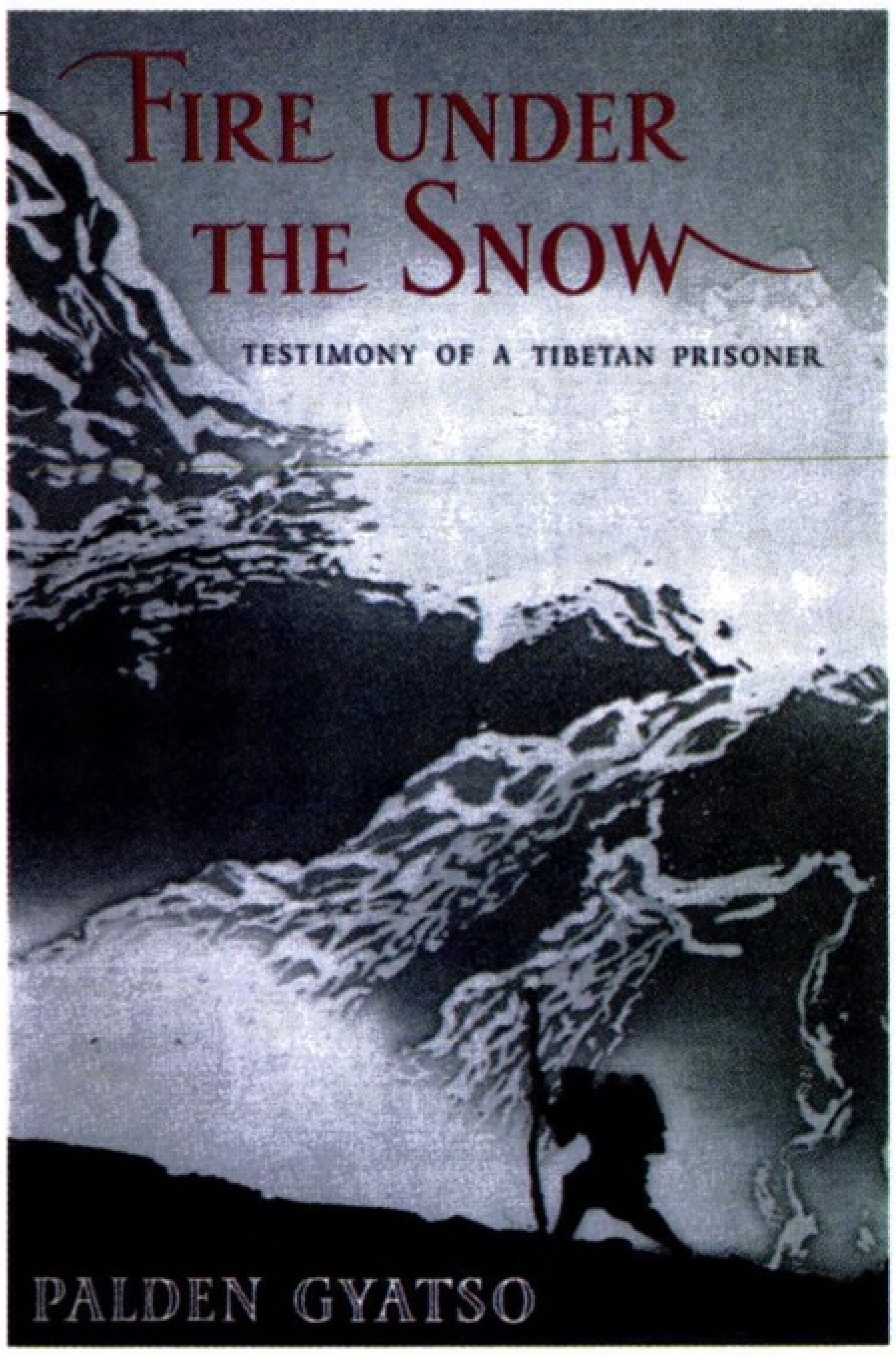
Most Guevara biographies have either been partisan hagiographies or hatchet-jobs by his enemies. Now, finally, we have in Jon Lee Anderson's **Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life** an account which is probably as complete and balanced as we have any right to expect. Anderson is a non-communist who has nevertheless been given unprecedented access by Guevara's family and – crucially – the Cuban Communist Party. His meticulous research produced a breakthrough in 1995 when he interviewed Bolivian General Mario Vargas Salinas, who graphically recounted Che's last hours and revealed that he was buried in a mass grave near a provincial airstrip.

CHE GUEVARA
A Revolutionary Life
JON LEE ANDERSON
'Absorbing and convincing...an indispensable work of contemporary history' Robin Blackburn, Guardian

How did Ernesto Guevara, the son of middle-class Argentinian parents, come to such an end and why does he remain such a potent symbol for change? Anderson patiently weaves the threads of a restless, driven life, convincingly arguing that Guevara was, throughout, the impetuous shaper of his own destiny, incapable of waiting on events and circumstances. He epitomized both the radical politics and the 'live fast, die young' philosophy of the 1960s; a veritable James Dean of the Left. The bare facts are well-known: Che trained as a doctor and was an early enthusiast for Pan-Americanism. His politics were radicalized during Argentina's Peron years and, in Mexico in 1955, he involved himself with Fidel Castro's Cuban insurrectionists. In the struggle against the Cuban dictator, Fulgencio Batista, Guevara became Castro's most trusted aide and the rebel army's military commander. After the success of the revolution, Che was ill-suited to the role of bureaucrat and throughout the 1960s he embarked on a series of guerrilla campaigns in Argentina, the Congo and, finally and fatally, Bolivia.

Anderson's book is a finely-wrought and compelling account of the life and death of one of the most fascinating individuals of our era. It will stand as the definitive biography of Che Guevara for years to come. The style is unfussy, gaps are acknowledged and the plethora of self-serving versions rigorously audited. Much fascinating detail is added to the record and the description of the evolution of Castro's compatriots from a tiny band of adventurers to a victorious army is particularly fine. The book ends by examining Che's legacy; an uneasy amalgam of honourable idealism and flawed practice. For groups such as Mexico's Zapatistas or the Tupac Amaru movement in Peru, Che stands as exemplar and inspiration. In a final twist, Anderson considers the spectacular re-emergence of Laurent Kabila, the Congolese rebel Guevara had aided 30 years previously; a vivid reminder that, as Anderson says, many of Che's battles still await their final denouement. Truly, Che vive!

Politics ☆☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆☆ PW



Fire Under The Snow is the story of a rather different approach to resistance than that pursued by Che Guevara. While Che was the archetypal 'angry young man', Palden Gyatso is an extraordinarily un-angry old man. But his form of resistance has required as much – if not more – courage and tenacity.

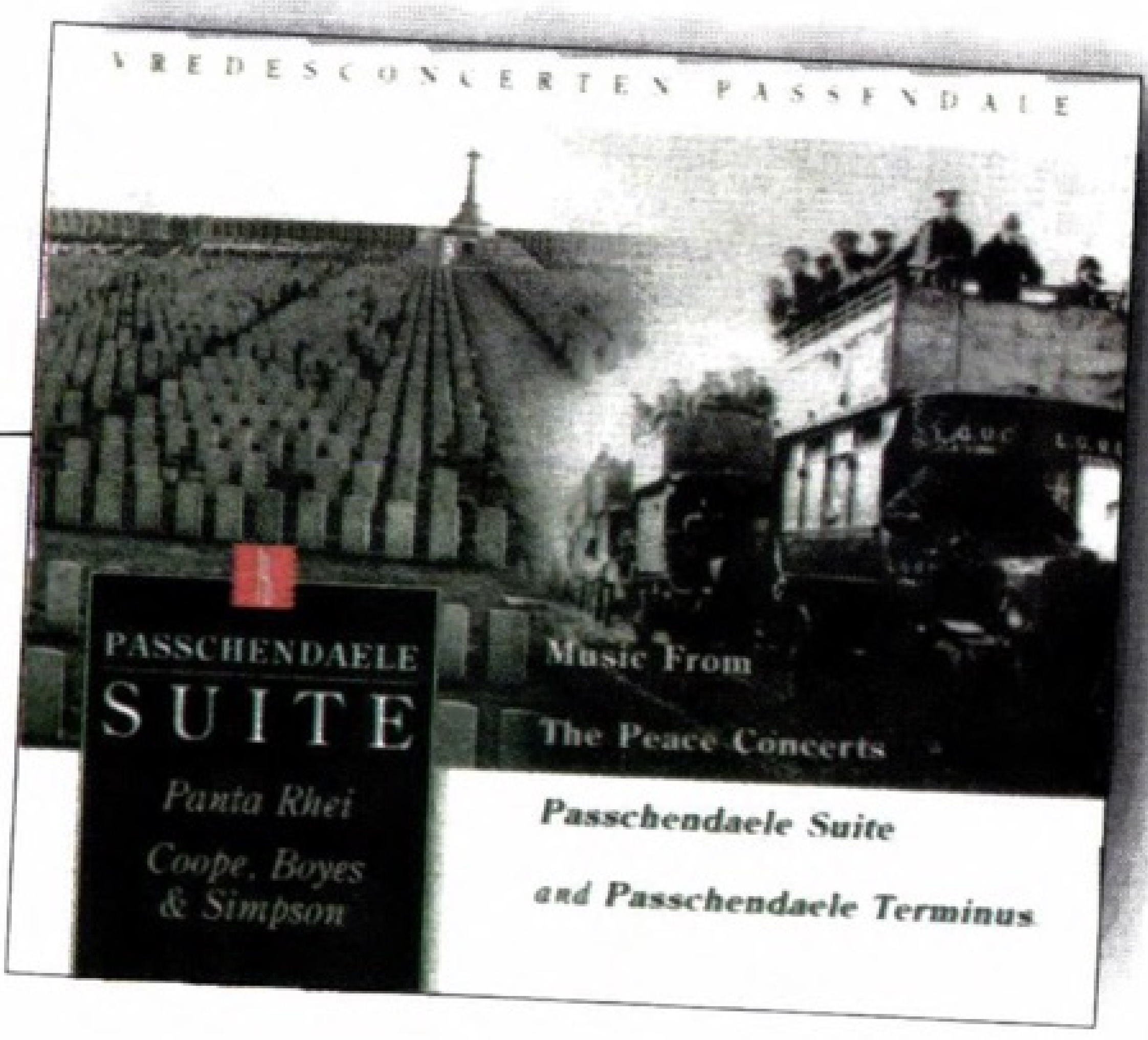
In 1992 Palden Gyatso, a Tibetan and a Buddhist monk, was released after 33 years in Chinese prisons on the understanding that he would return to a quiet monastic life. Instead he escaped across the Himalayas through Nepal to India carrying with him a bag containing instruments of torture used by the Chinese.

He presented this bag to the Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual leader, who encouraged him to write an account of his life and the time he spent in captivity. **Fire Under the Snow** is the result, a humbling and extraordinary account of one man's struggle to survive in the face of unimaginable brutality.

Palden was 28 years old when he was arrested and imprisoned in 1959 for his part in a non-violent demonstration against the Chinese occupation of Tibet. He, like so many others still in prison, suffered routine torture for years. Palden lost 20 teeth and was left partially deaf as a result of torture by electric batons capable of administering shocks of up to 70,000 volts. If this doesn't kill it simply tears strips of flesh from the body.

Though harrowing, this book is lucid and inspiring. Palden's lack of anger or bitterness and the very fact of his survival leaves the reader marvelling at the spirit of the man and sharing in his hope for the future of Tibet. 'It cannot be right,' he insists, 'that a country the size of Western Europe is simply allowed to vanish and its people be persecuted forever. Truth will prevail. Truth always prevails.'

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆ EG



music

Passchendaele Suite

by **Panta Rhei** and **Simpson, Boyes and Coope** *(No Masters Co-op, NMCD10CD)*

As the First World War fades almost entirely from living memory, comes this timely and moving album. **Passchendaele Suite** began life as a series of site specific concerts performed at the annual Passchendaele Peace concerts by Flanders-based band Panta Rhei and an English trio of folk musicians, Lester Simpson, Jim Boyes and Barry Coope.

Those of us not present at the huge Tyne Cot Cemetery, where countless soldiers lie, can only imagine the scene as the Suite's music, both mournful and angry, floated over the battlefield. This is folk music, old, new, developing, rearranged; shaped for generations and sung to a lost generation. Music seldom performs so savage an indictment against destruction.

The handsomely produced sleeve-notes which accompany the Brussels-recorded album make the point that Passchendaele was not just a European affair. Soldiers from across the world were drawn into the carnage. This is reflected in the music, which shows how folk culture survives upheaval and displacement. There's a wonderfully haunting bagpipe lament – 'The Land of the Long White Cloud' – which is Scottish by way of New Zealand, with a title provided courtesy of the Maoris. There's also a Scottish dance with a German title, and a beautifully restrained *largo* in which Panta Rhei's cello sets the sonorous tone.

But being mournful just isn't enough, as an instrumental like 'The Bloody Fields of Flanders' shows. Starting with a funereal pipe and drum, it's haunting enough and, when the strings come in there's a sense of a formal almost baroque setting. The surprise occurs minutes later when the melody switches into a defiant, martial mood, the snare drum fairly rattling in its advance. The piece captures the awful ambivalence of war: the tension between the populist rush to enlist amid tales of derring-do and the ghastly reality. To paraphrase a Bolshevik line, a bayonet is just a weapon with a person at each end.

Does the **Passchendaele Suite** succeed? Certainly, if its mission is to honour the generation destroyed by the incompetence of governments and generals. Indeed, it draws parallels of a kind. The album accesses a passion on this count, not least in its closing moments as 'The New Jerusalem' casts a withering glare across the bleaker landscapes of modern England. But just one niggle remains: that for all the protest against war, this is an album which remembers only the Allies. Its translations are in English, French and Flemish. It would be apposite to remember that at Passchendaele, just like Ypres and the Somme, there were also a lot of Germans who didn't want to be there.

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆☆ LG

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film

The Death Sentence

directed by **Prakhash Jha**

This film is a rare thing: a mainstream Hindi language movie firmly on the side of women's empowerment. It's also an intelligent, unstrident call to arms against patriarchal excess of all kinds, its anger targeting political corruption, religious dogmatism, caste injustice and neo-feudalism. What emerges is a deft mix between commercial and art house sensibilities; a pacey, action-packed thriller boasting a social conscience and striking visuals to match.

Director Prakash Jha's bid for accessibility includes casting the hugely popular screen goddess Maduhri Dixit, and by throwing in a few song and dance sequences he pushes the boat out further. The result is ample testimony to the way a radical message can be turned into a popular, multi-layered entertainment.

Set in the present-day northern state of Bihar, it centres on a village emerging from feudalism, and prey – as a result – to variously corrupt forces. It opens on a scene of startling, violent beauty as a pregnant young woman and her mother are chased by a mob of armed villagers across a vast blood-orange landscape. Though nothing else in the film quite matches the scene's lyrical intensity, it underlies the way women's traditional suffering often intensifies during periods of social upheaval. With several interesting things to say besides, about internecine social and caste relations, the film maintains a complex and ambitious reach.

The main focus, however, is on an impoverished family of landowners. While the ruthless elder brother attempts to escape penury by scheming to take over as boss of the local monastery, his naive younger brother falls in with a coterie of corrupt business people. In both cases it is their wives who bear the initial brunt of their actions. The older woman Chandravati (Shabhana Azmi), deeply humiliated by her husband's decision to abandon her – he cites her childlessness as a motive – seems destined to endure a lifetime of self-sacrifice. By contrast, the town-educated bride Ketki (Maduhri Dixit), is dismayed by her once placid husband's turn to violence, and is soon counselling other women against an unquestioning acceptance of their status.

She succeeds as the film's moral conscience. Her final acts of resistance – an echo of the classic film *Mother India* – are surprisingly assertive. As indeed are Chandravati's, whose quieter, perhaps even more transgressive personal protest, is all the more courageous for coming after years of conformity, and for self-consciously breaking with caste rules. The pair become targets of scurrilous rumours as a mass male backlash rises against them. But even though the village's women have learned the value of collective action and the strength of holding those in power publicly accountable, the script never lets its audience lose sight of the fact that any struggle for liberation must necessarily be a bitter and hard fought one.

The Death Sentence is a powerful and deeply committed attempt to change the social order, and while certainly not devoid of flaws, it's all the more subversive perhaps for choosing to wrap its message in a sumptuous, deceptively familiar coating.

Politics ☆☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆☆ EE

Distributor: Prakash Jha Productions
UK Tel: (+44) 1923 821737; Fax: (+44) 1923 835385
India Tel: (+91) 22 626 8427; Fax: (+91) 22 836 77 27

STAR RATING

Excellent	☆☆☆☆☆
Very good	☆☆☆☆
Good	☆☆☆
Fair	☆☆
Poor	☆

Reviewers: Peter Whittaker, Eamonn Gearon, Louise Gray; Esi Eshun
Reviews editor: **Vanessa Baird**

Country profile

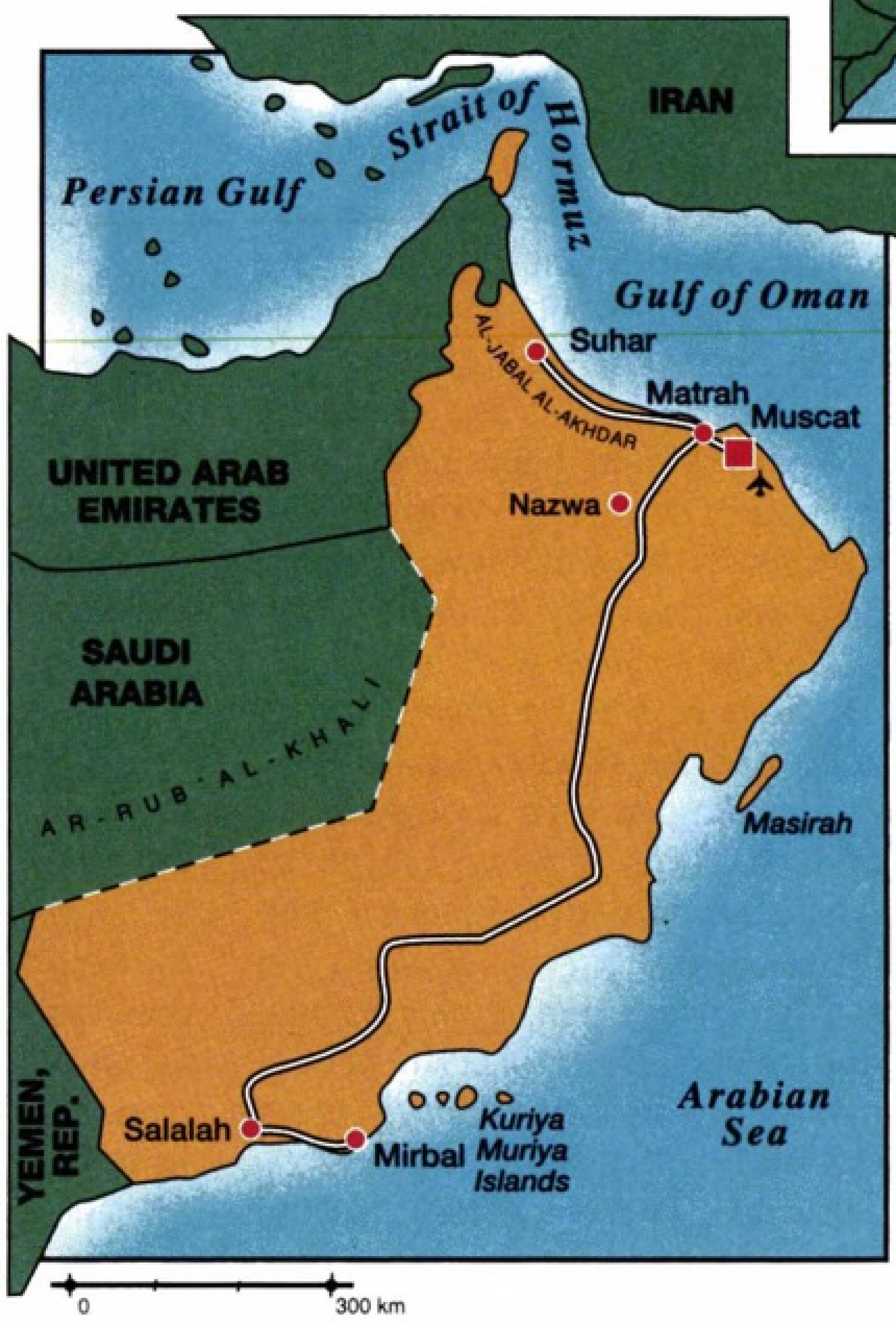
Oman

By any criterion, Oman is a remarkable country. Separated by the Gulf of Oman and Straits of Hormuz from Iran and by the Arabian Sea from the Indian subcontinent, its culture has as much in common with those two regions as with its Arabian neighbours. Oman stands very much apart from other Arab countries.

Oman is the oldest independent state in the Arab world. Its Portuguese rulers were ousted in 1650, whereafter it became itself a considerable naval power in the Indian Ocean, with colonies on the East African coast. But the twentieth century saw the country decline into ever greater obscurity, reaching its nadir in the later years of the reign of Sultan Said, who came to power in 1938 and ruled until overthrown by his son Qabus in 1970.

Sultan Said ensured that Oman became a medieval anachronism. Travel inside the country was severely restricted, one could only leave or depart with a visa signed by the Sultan himself and anybody who complained was imprisoned. Slavery was common, the prisons were overcrowded, there were few roads, schools or hospitals and little in the way of infrastructure.

Since Sultan Qabus replaced his father, Oman has made great strides in catching up with the modern world. The country's limited oil revenues have been channelled into developing infrastructure and services, education and healthcare are now free to Omani citizens, slavery has been abolished and most of the country's political prisoners set free. Oman has also finally come to take part in the world beyond its frontiers, having belatedly joined the United Nations and League of Arab States in 1971. It is on generally good terms with all its neighbours, as well, paradoxically, as having relations with Iran, Iraq and Israel.



ITEM WORLD GUIDE 1996/97

Qabus, however, is an absolute monarch. He is Sultan (head of state), prime minister, foreign minister and minister of defence. He rules by decree, with an elected Consultative Council proffering 'advice'. Furthermore, as with all the other Arab monarchies, citizenship is the exclusive preserve of native-born Omanis. The 25 per cent of the population which is non-Arab, mostly from Pakistan, does the country's donkey work but is not entitled to any of the benefits of citizenship.

Around two million people are spread over Oman's vast area, much of which is desert. The economy has blossomed since Qabus came to power, with oil and natural gas accounting for over 80 per cent of its export earnings. What was until 25 years ago an impoverished backwater now compares favourably with its oil-rich neighbours.

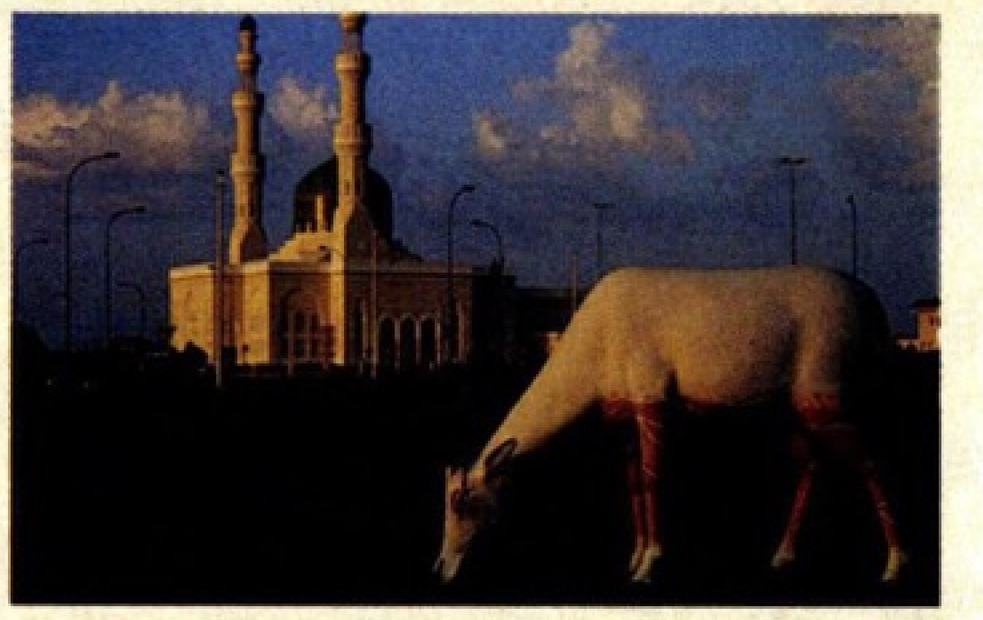
Even tourism now plays a part: 50,000 tourists a year are attracted by spectacular scenery and a remarkable diversity of fauna and flora. The Omani Government has devoted a great deal of attention to the environment, with many nature reserves and an internationally admired program for protected species.

A key feature of Oman's history has been its relationship with Britain: the sultanate was protected by the British Empire after a 1798 treaty. Thereafter many of the sultans' political advisers and all their military commanders were British. Qabus himself was educated at Sandhurst and has surrounded himself with British advisers. He too has British military assistance – and defence accounts for over a third of government expenditure.

Qabus has said many times that his country is not yet 'ready for democracy'. But there is a widespread belief that his gradual extension of popular participation will continue. What happens after Qabus is open to speculation. He is 57, has no children, and has no apparent interest in changing that state of affairs. ■

Steve Sherman

AT A GLANCE



CHRISTINE OSBORNE / CAMERA PRESS

Leader Sultan Qabus bin Said.
Economy GNP per capita $4,820 (Canada $19,380).
Monetary unit: riyal (1 riyal = 1,000 baiza).
Main exports: oil and natural gas.
Main imports: Machinery and transport equipment, food and livestock, chemicals.
Though it is a small producer compared with its neighbours, oil dominates the national economy. The big plans, though, are to exploit the huge reserves of liquefied natural gas – the aim is for revenue from this to equal that from oil in the medium term. Pakistanis and Indians comprise the majority (60%) of the labour force.
People 2.3 million.
Health Infant mortality 15 per 1,000 live births (Australia 6 per 1,000).
Culture Omani Arabs make up 73.5 % of the population, with Pakistanis (mainly Baluchis) another 21% and the other 5.5% also foreign (mainly Indian) migrant workers.
Religion: Islam, of the Ibadi sect.
Language: Arabic, though migrant workers retain their native languages.

Sources *The World Guide 1997/98; State of the World's Children 1998; Middle East Review 1997; information supplied by the author.*

Previously profiled July 1987.

NI star rating

EXCELLENT	★★★★★
GOOD	★★★★
FAIR	★★★
POOR	★★
APPALLING	★

STAR RATINGS

INCOME DISTRIBUTION ★★★
The economy is healthy and the Government committed to funding impressive public services.
1987 ★★★

SELF-RELIANCE ★
Nearly everything is imported except oil.
1987 ★★

POSITION OF WOMEN ★★
Poor overall, though good by Gulf Arab standards. Women can vote and stand for election to the Consultative Council.
1987 ★★★

LITERACY ★★
60 per cent. Before 1970 there was next to no schooling but 85% now enrol in primary school.
1987 ★★

FREEDOM ★★
Not as bad as some of its neighbours but there is no official opposition and no outlet for serious political debate.
1987 ★★

LIFE EXPECTANCY ★★★★
70 years, an astonishing rise from 54 years a decade ago (UK 76 years).
1987 ★

POLITICS

NI ASSESSMENT ★★
It would be easy to write off Oman as an absolute monarchy, without representation or freedom of expression; it is a very long way from internationally expected standards of democracy. But the present ruler has undoubtedly made huge strides in bringing what was a feudal backwater into the modern world and is vastly improving the lot of the Omani citizen.

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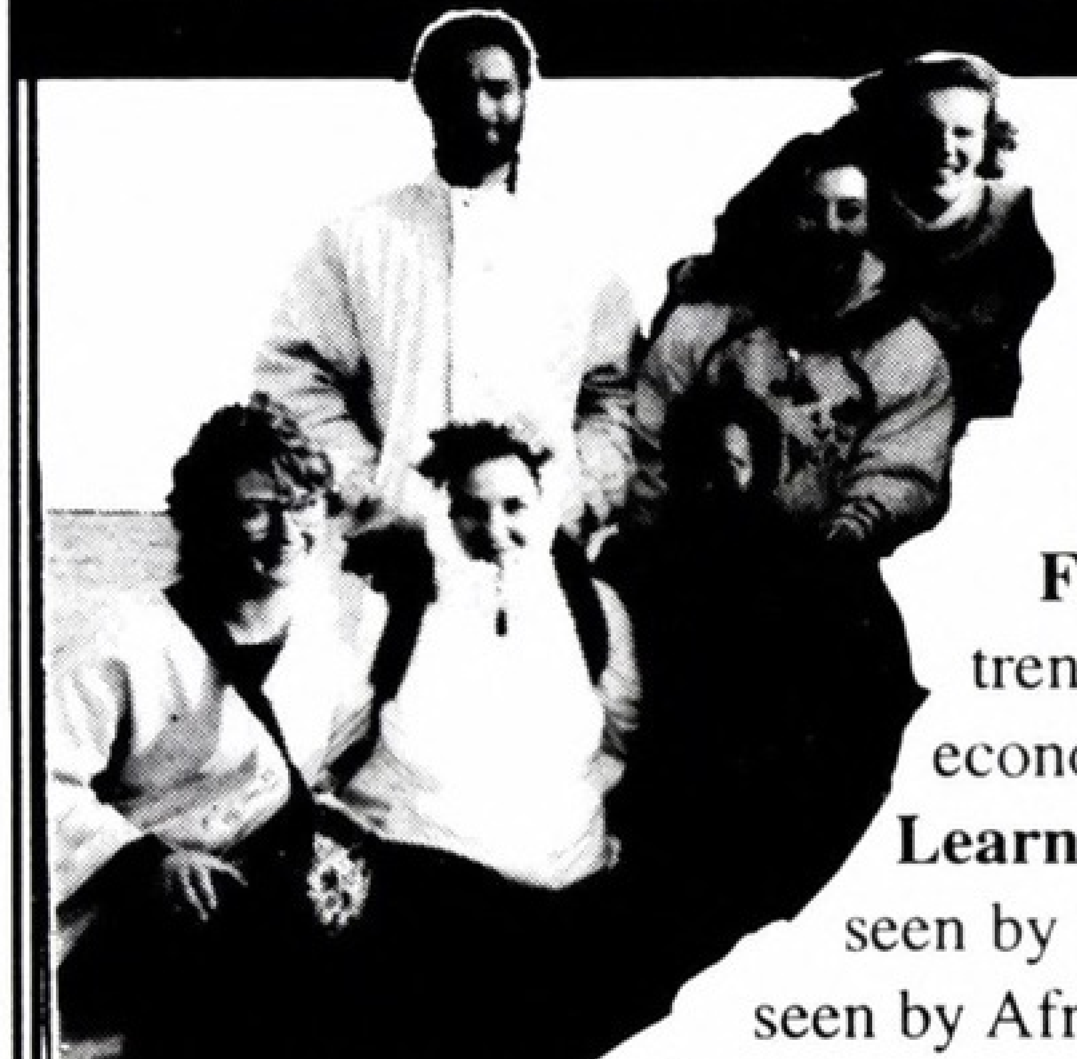

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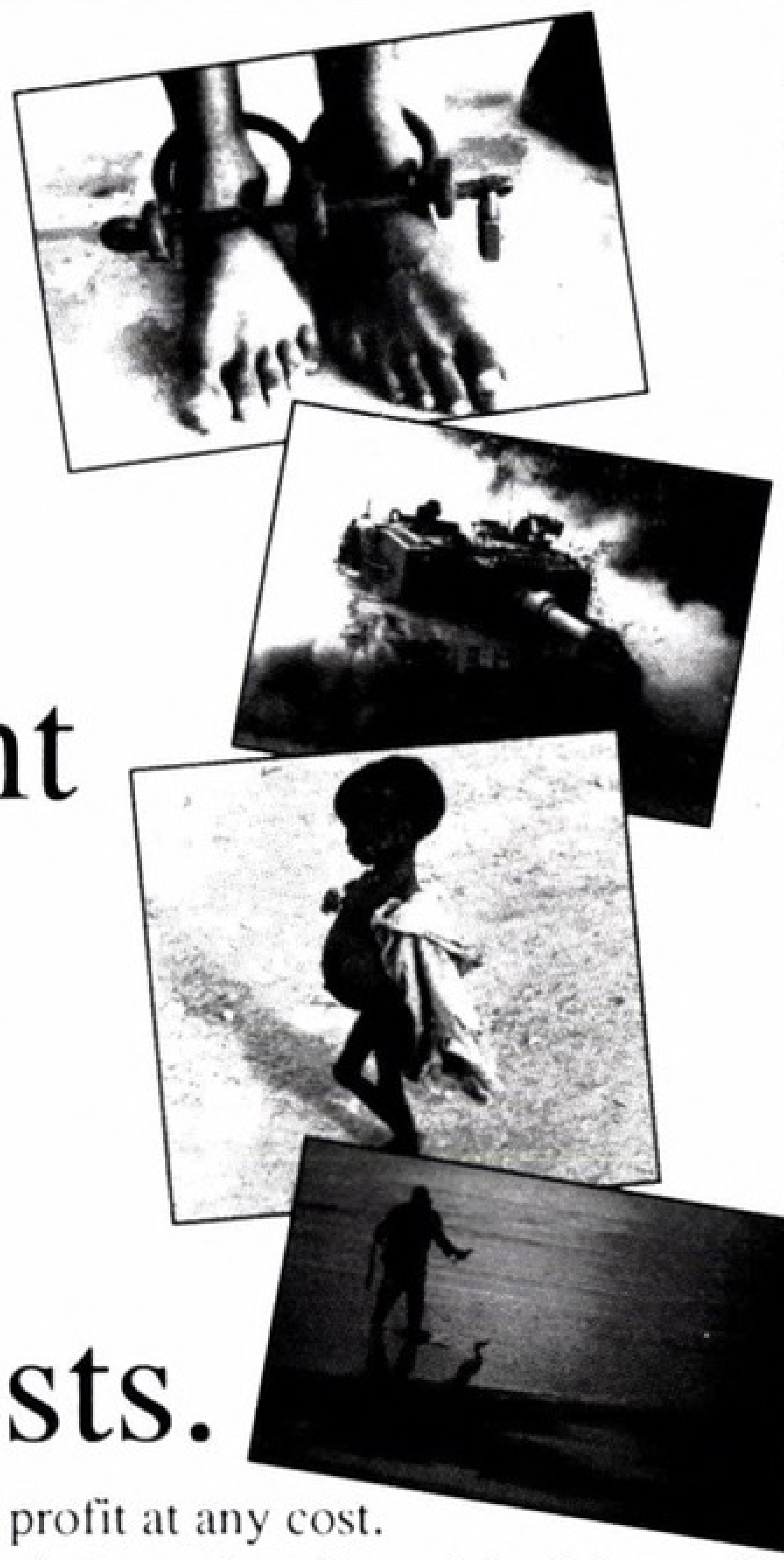

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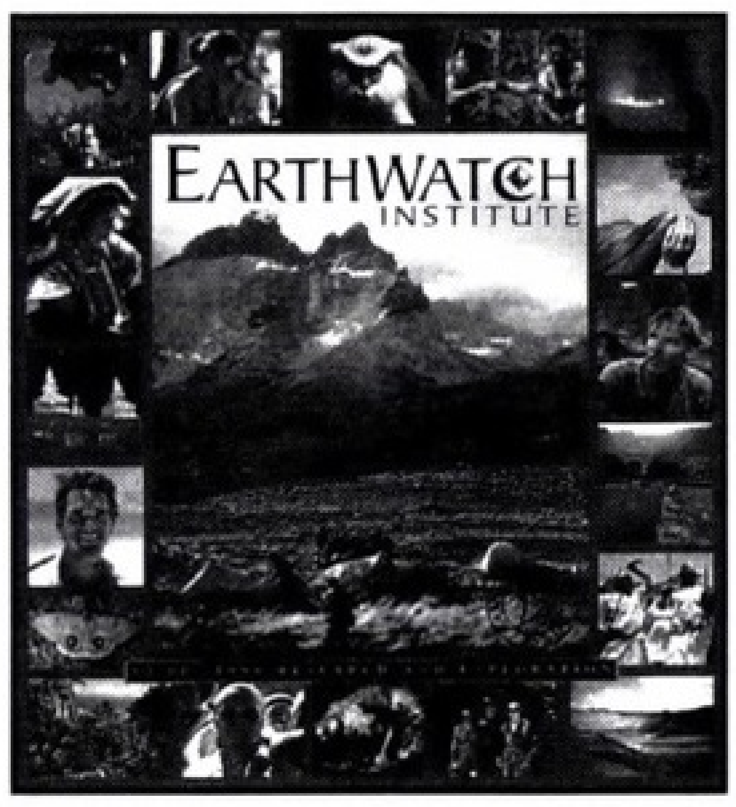

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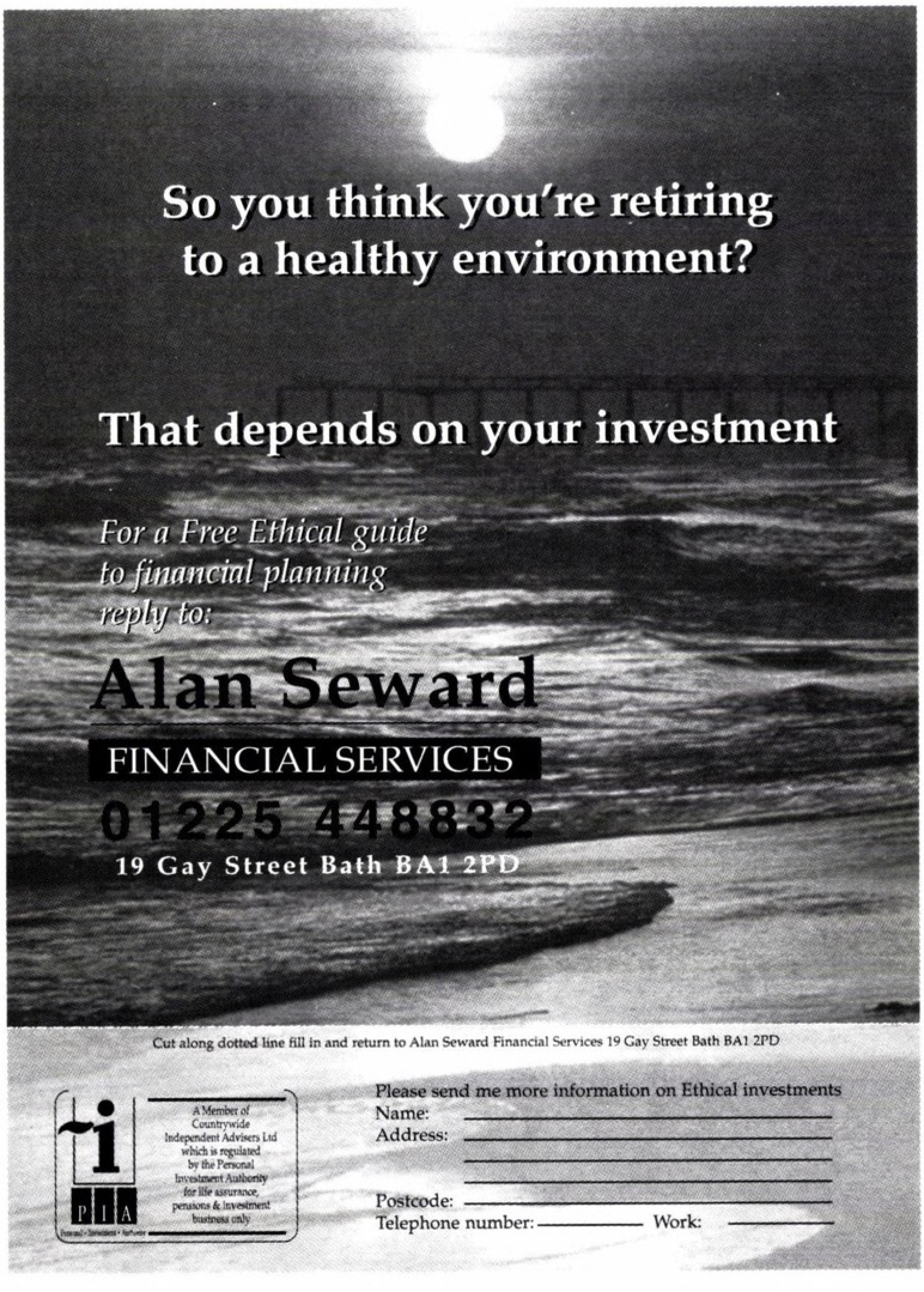

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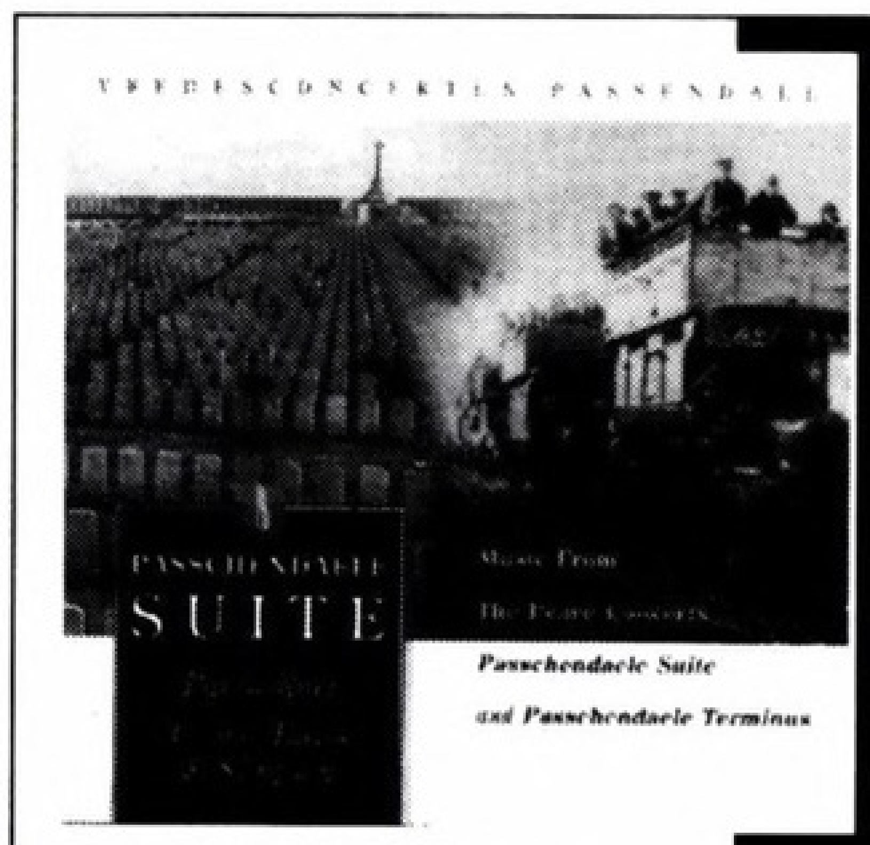

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NEW INTERNATIONALIST

Cumulative Magazine Index

1993-97

In this supplement we provide you with an index of everything that has appeared in the magazine during the past five years, listed by subject.

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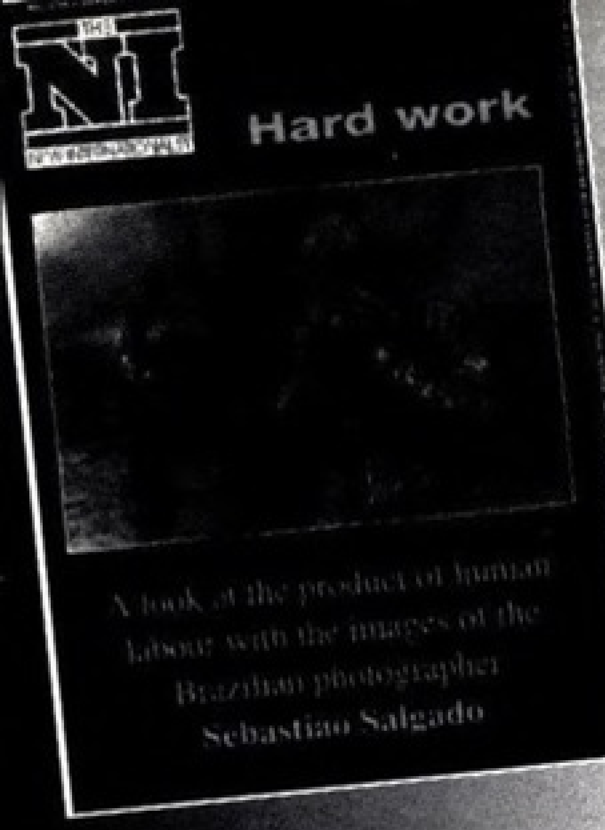
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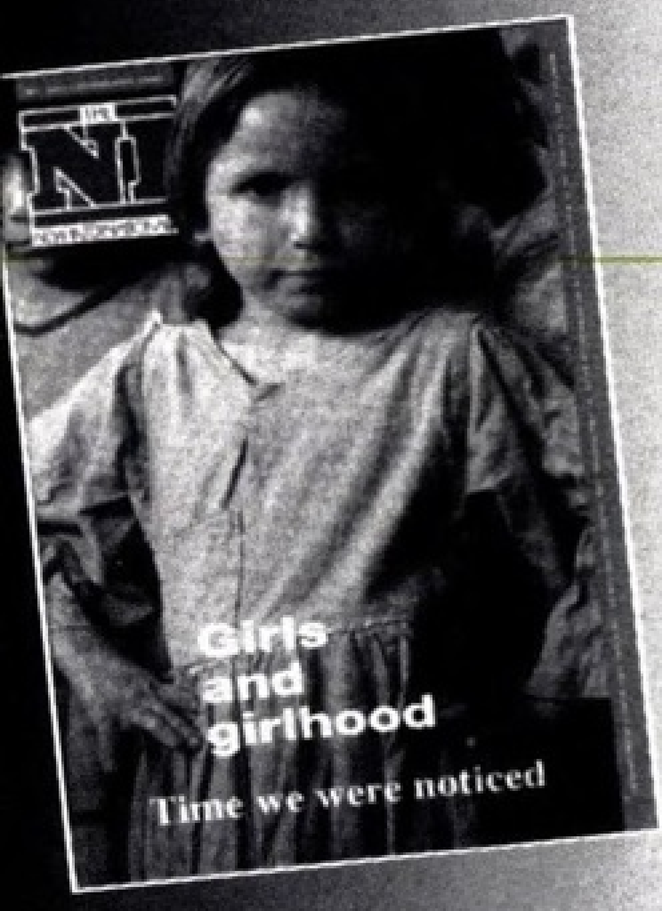

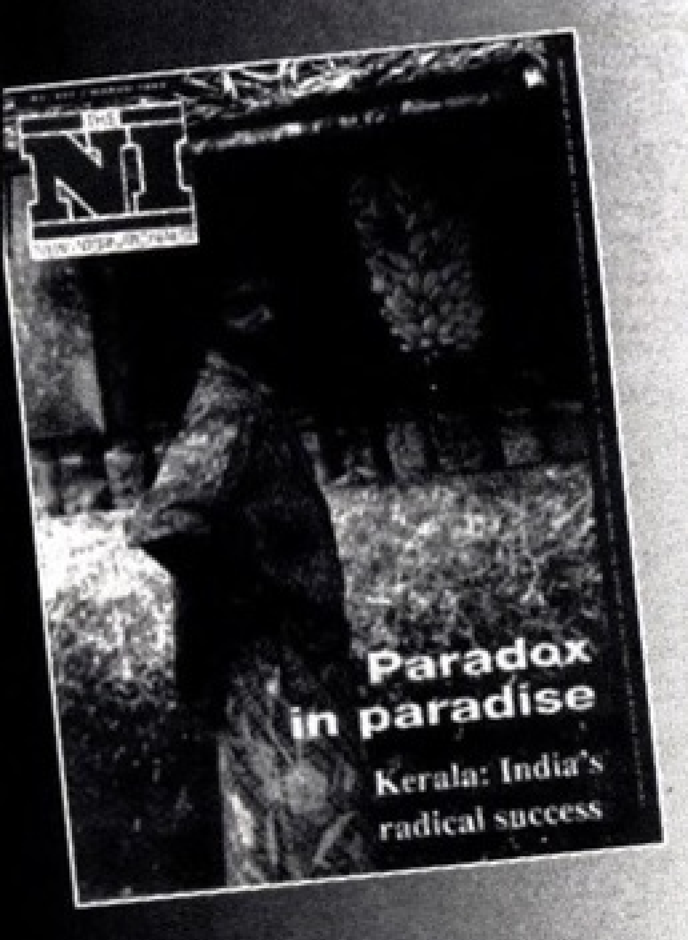

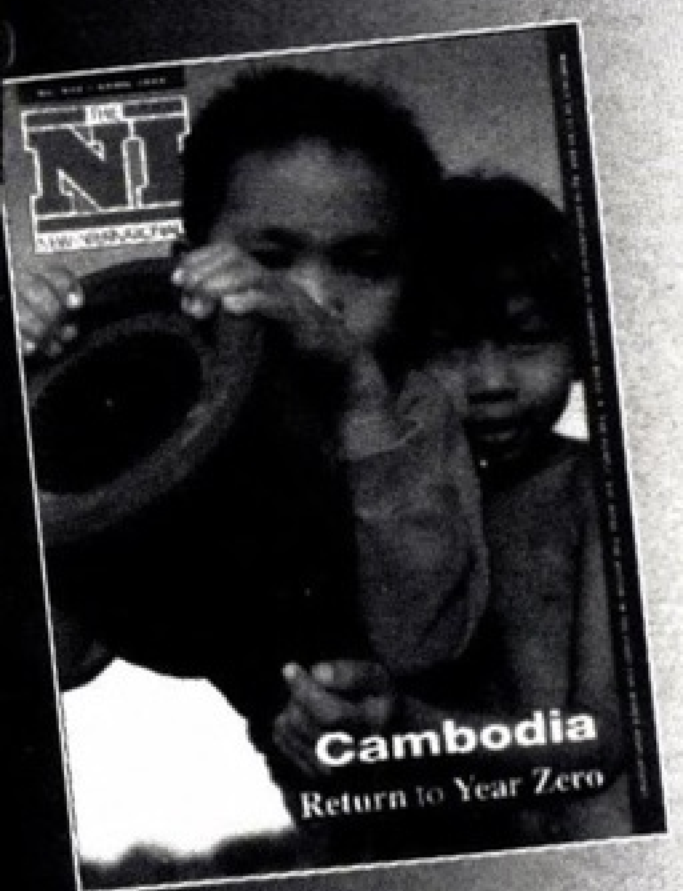

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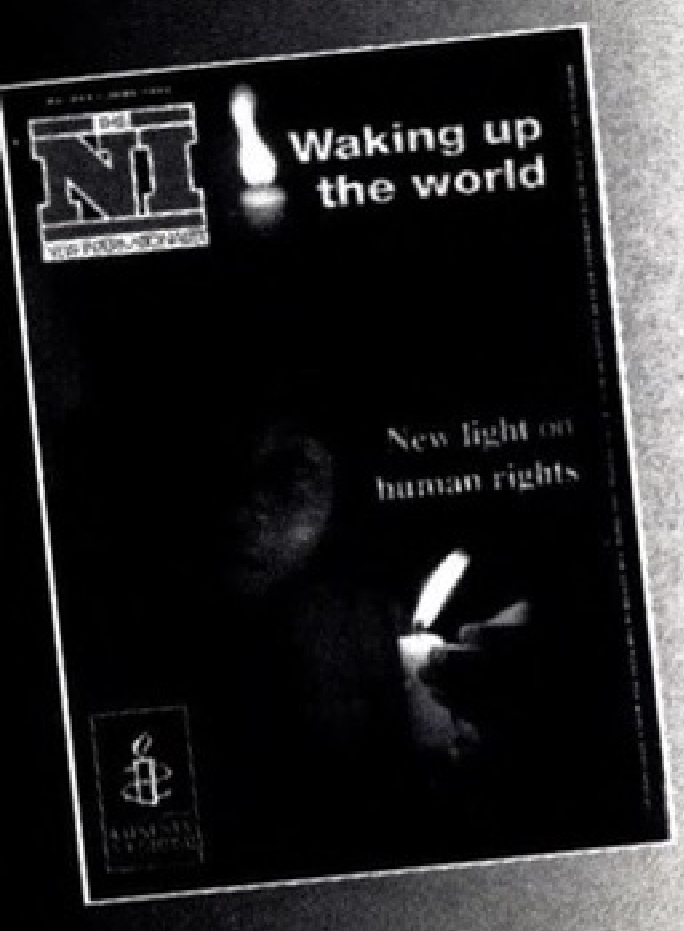

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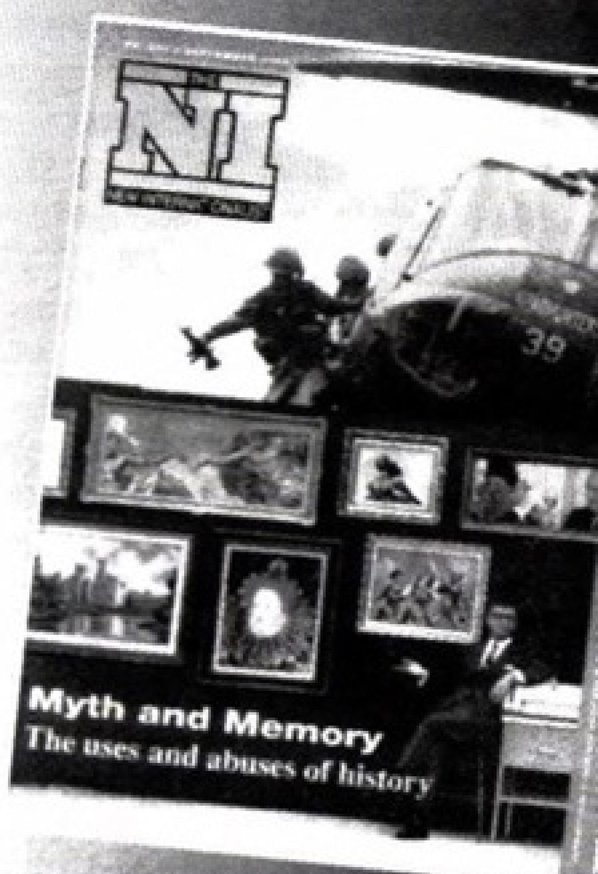

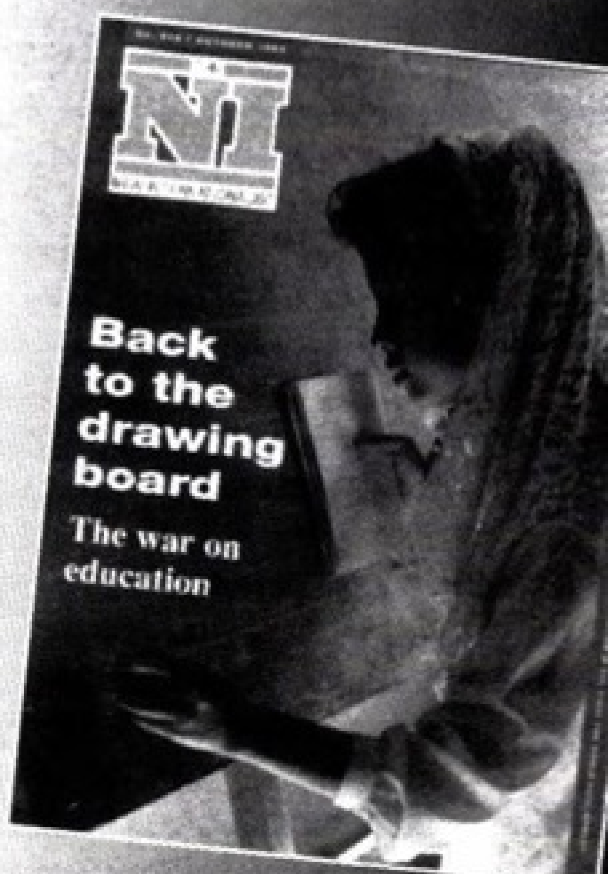

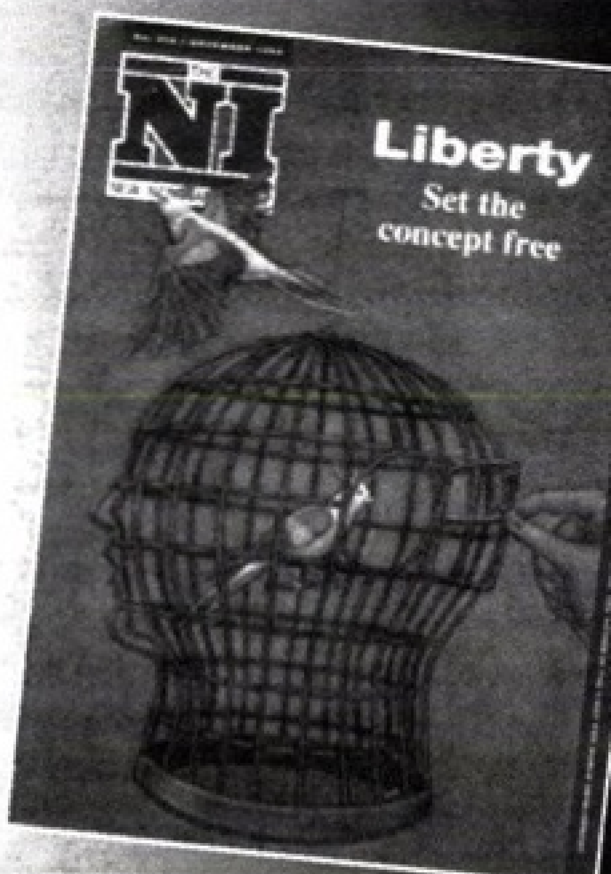

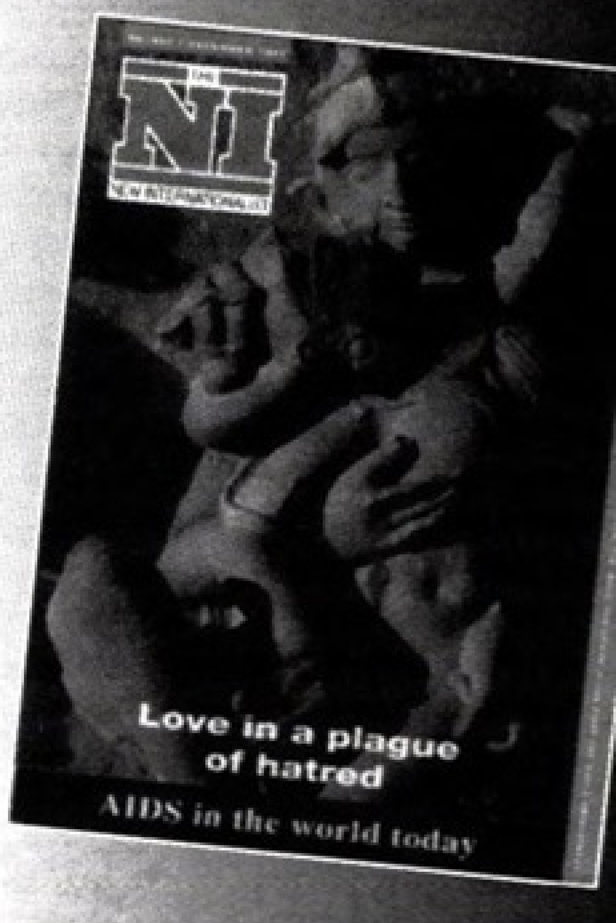

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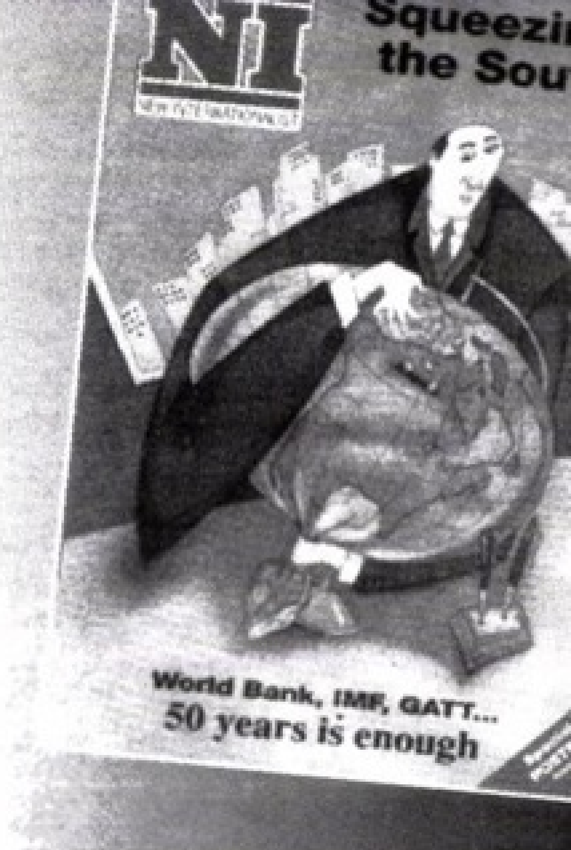

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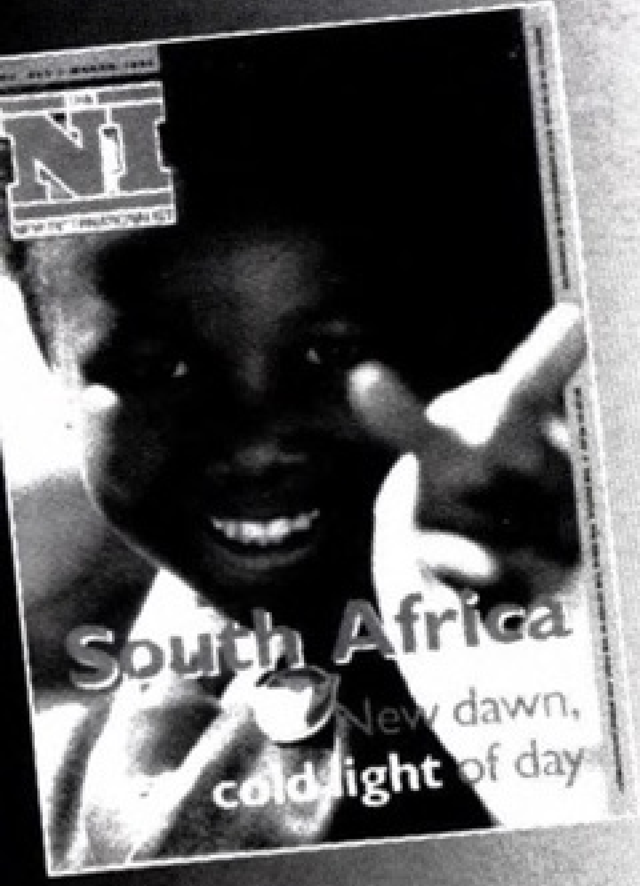

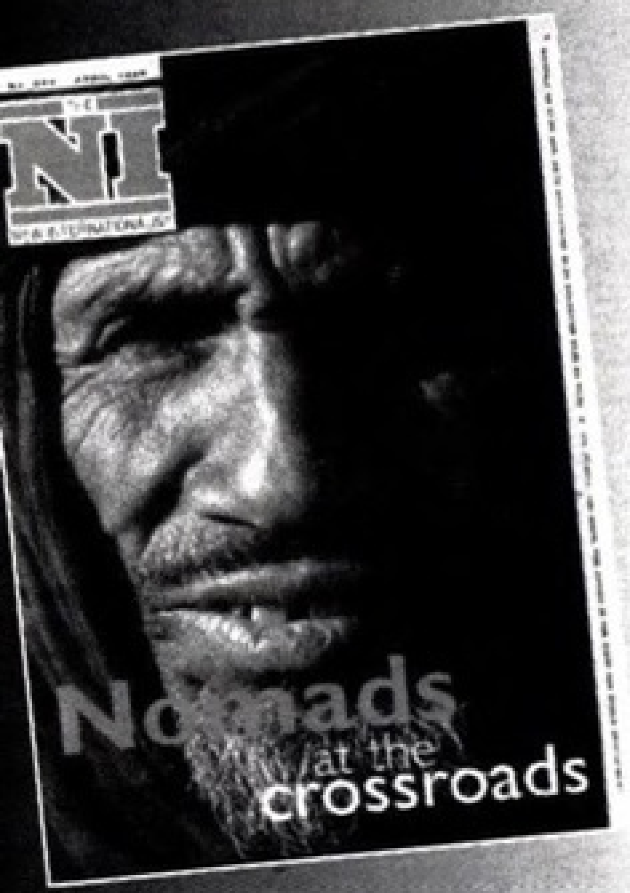

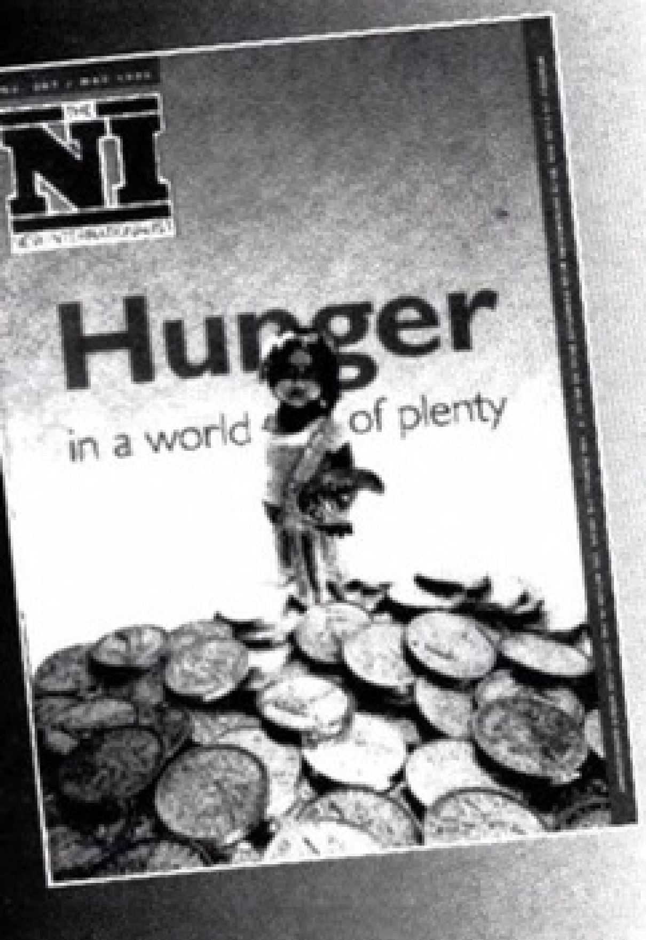

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Ten years of change in an African village

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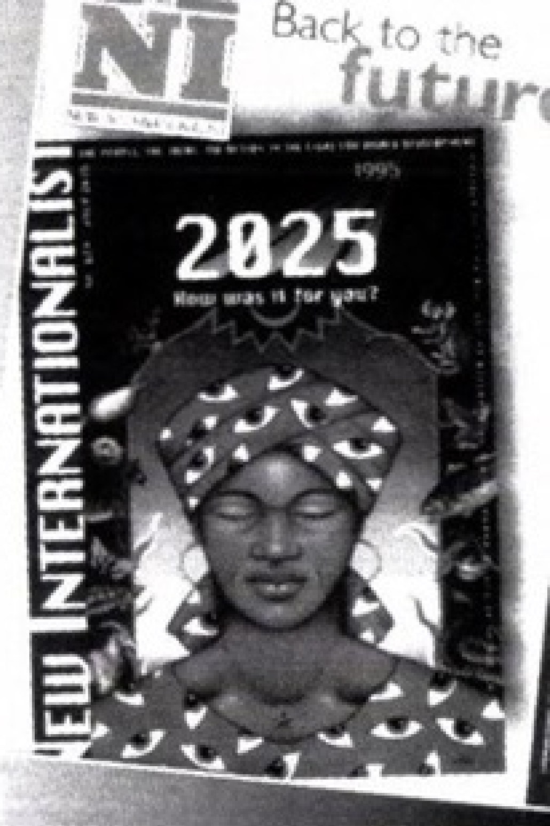
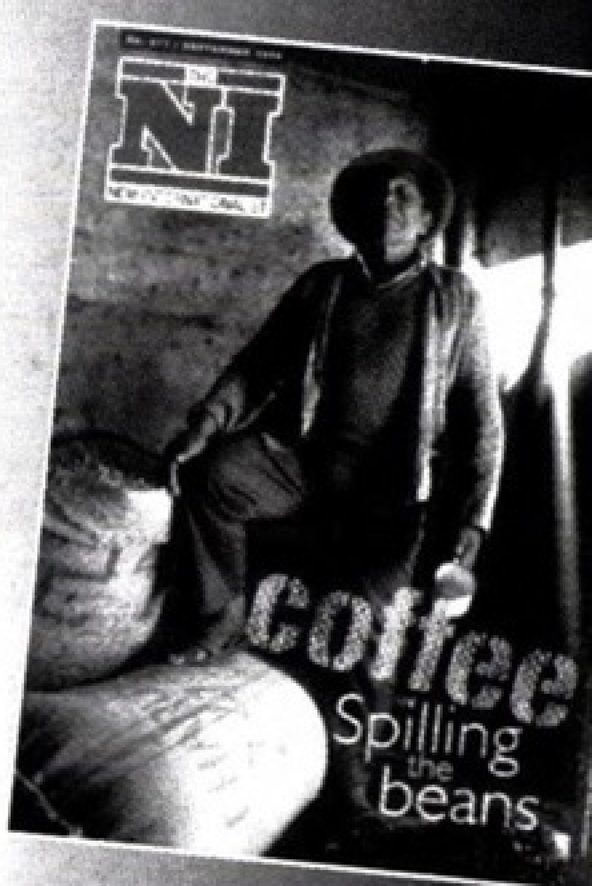
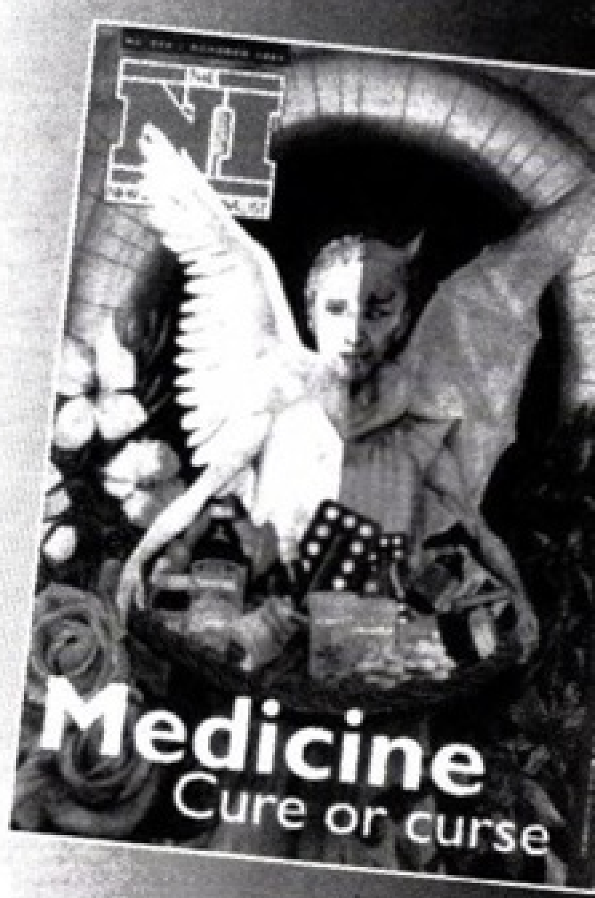
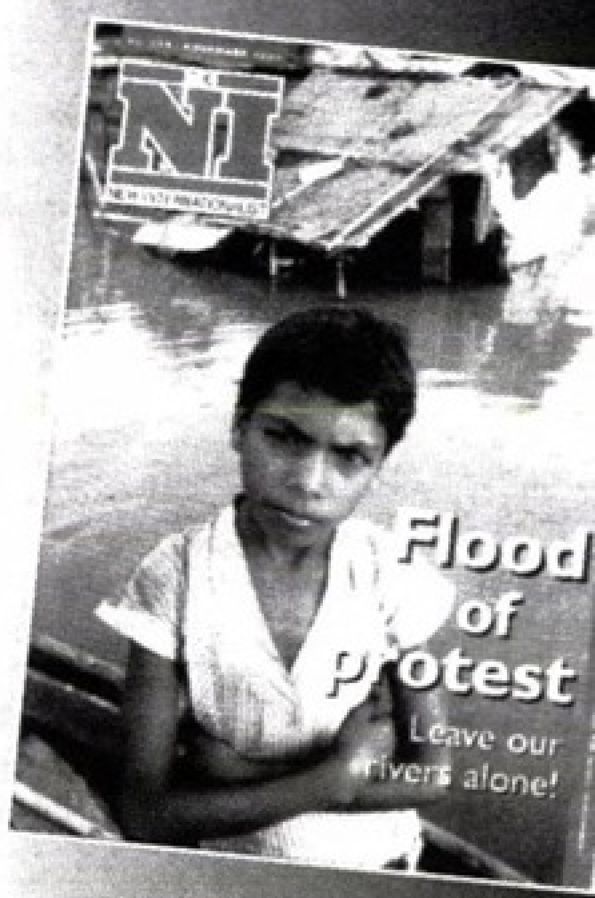
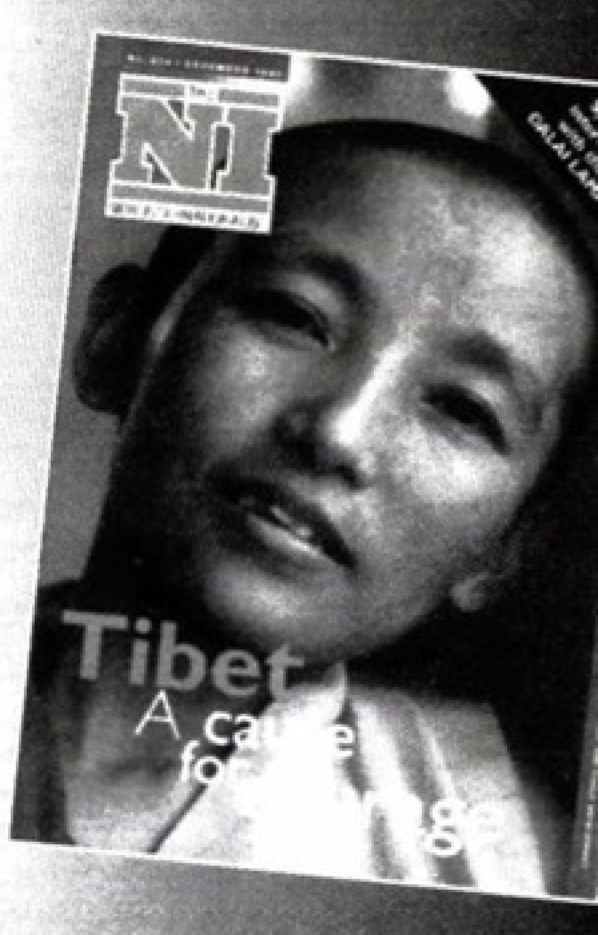


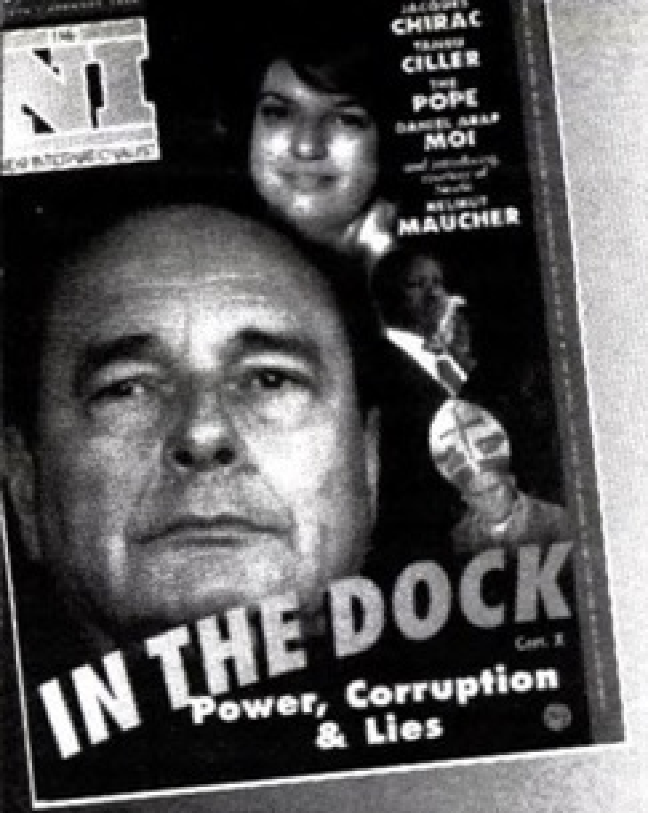
NI
Women
Still something to shout about

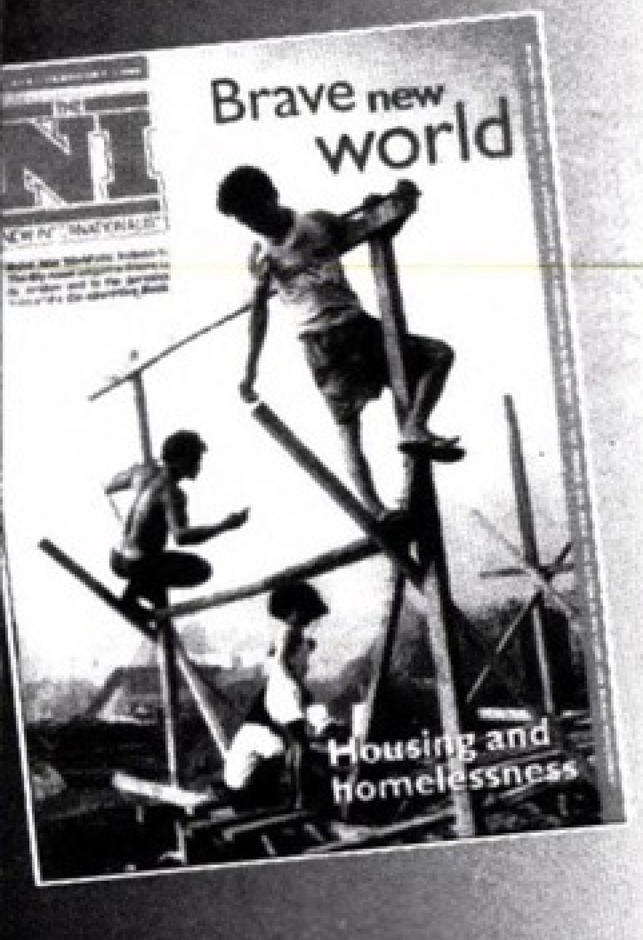


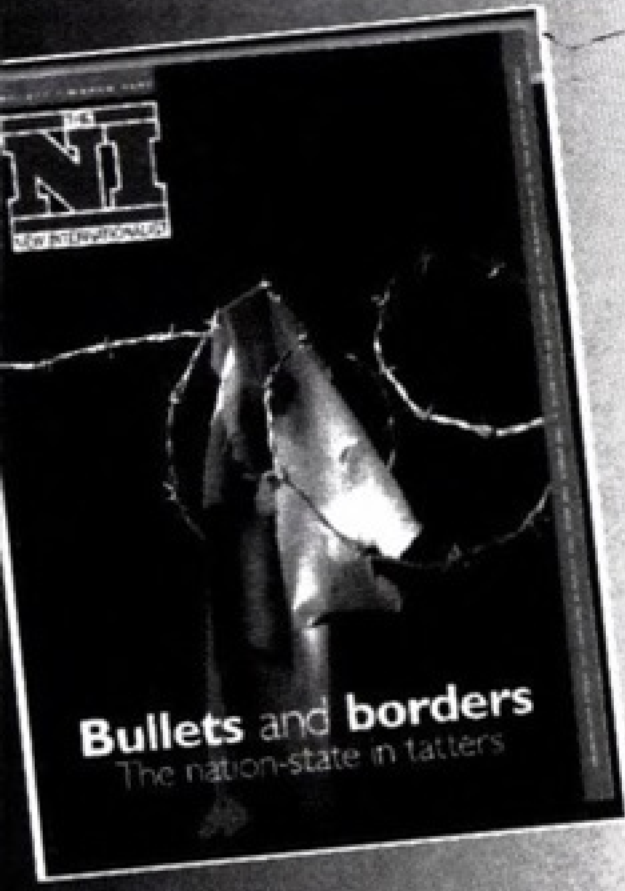


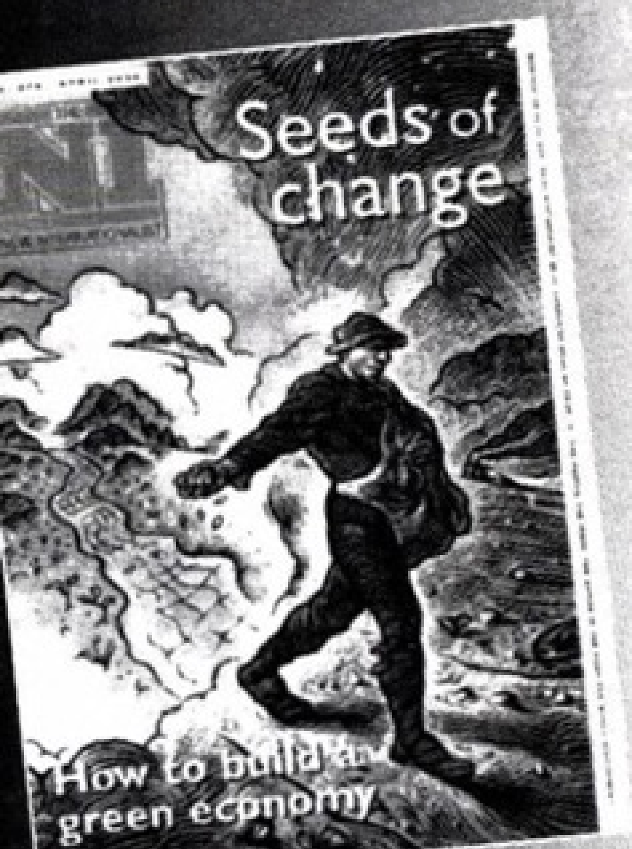


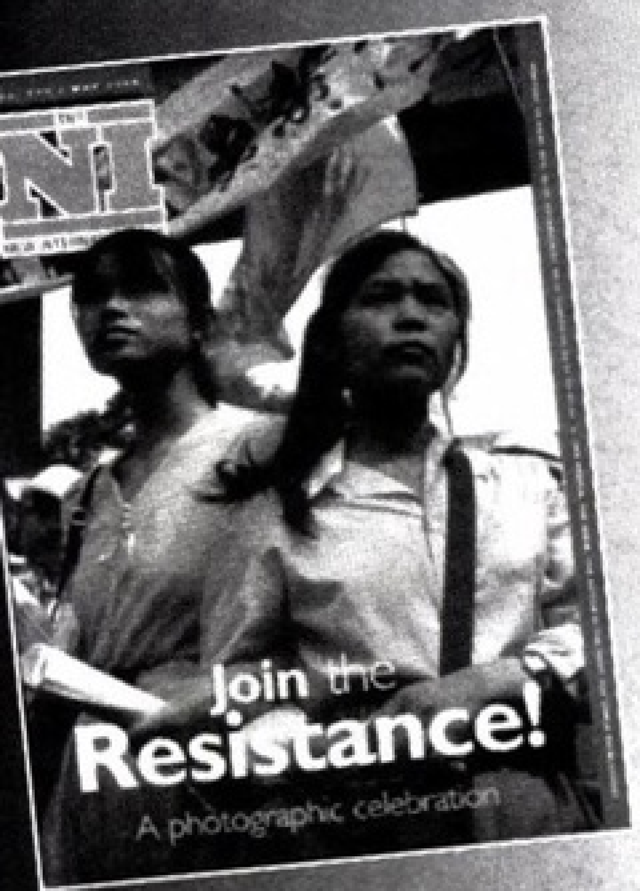


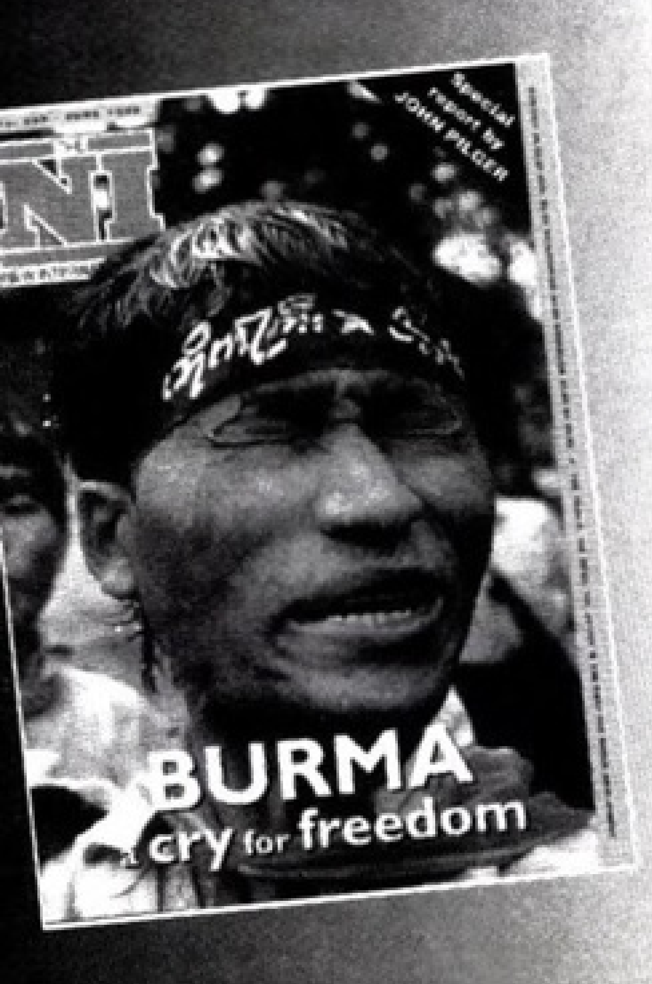












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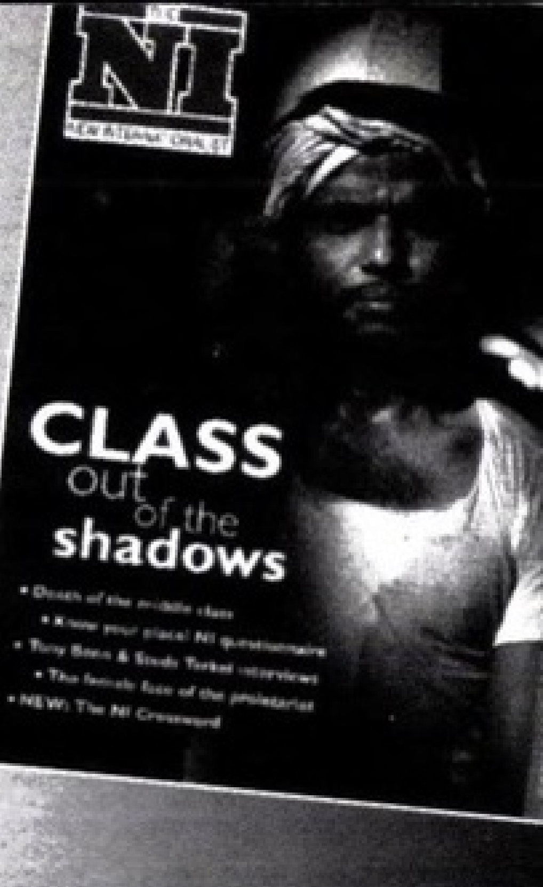

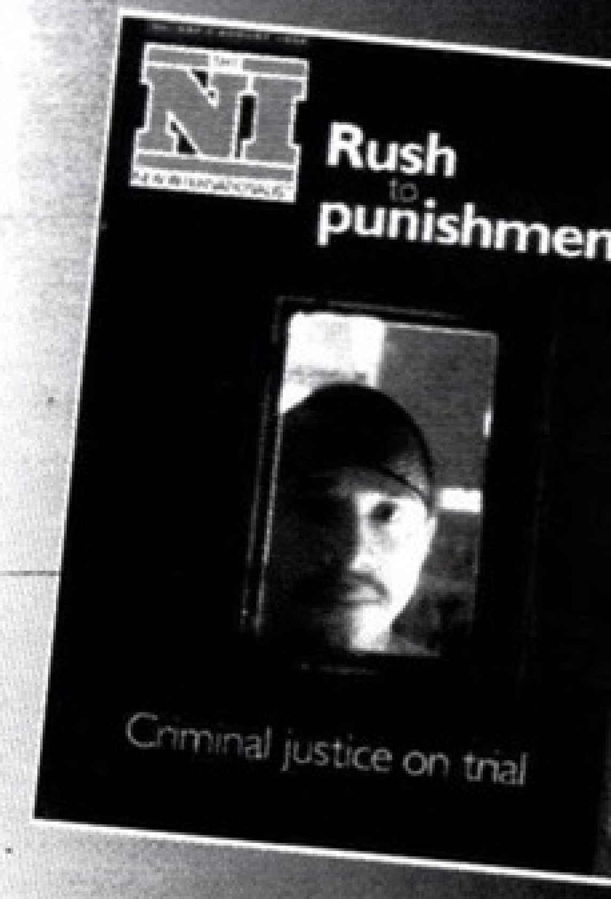

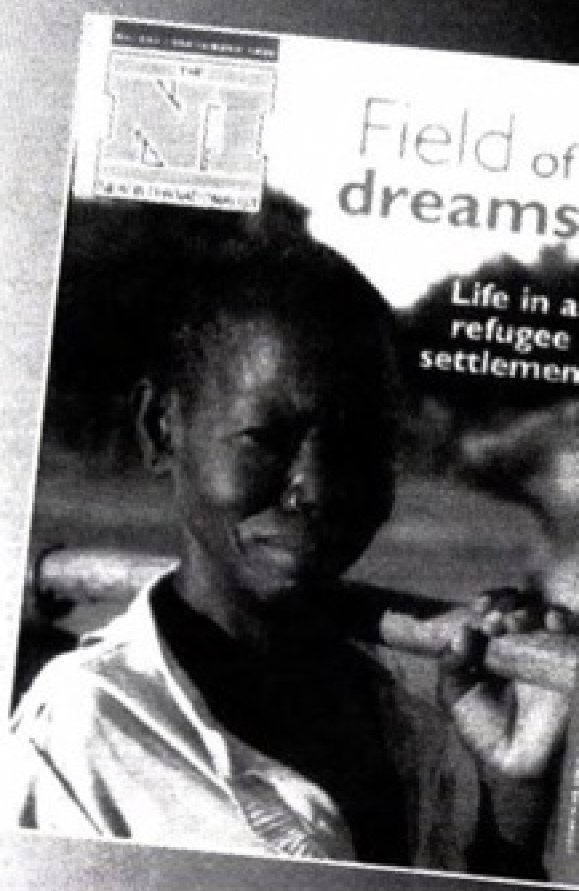

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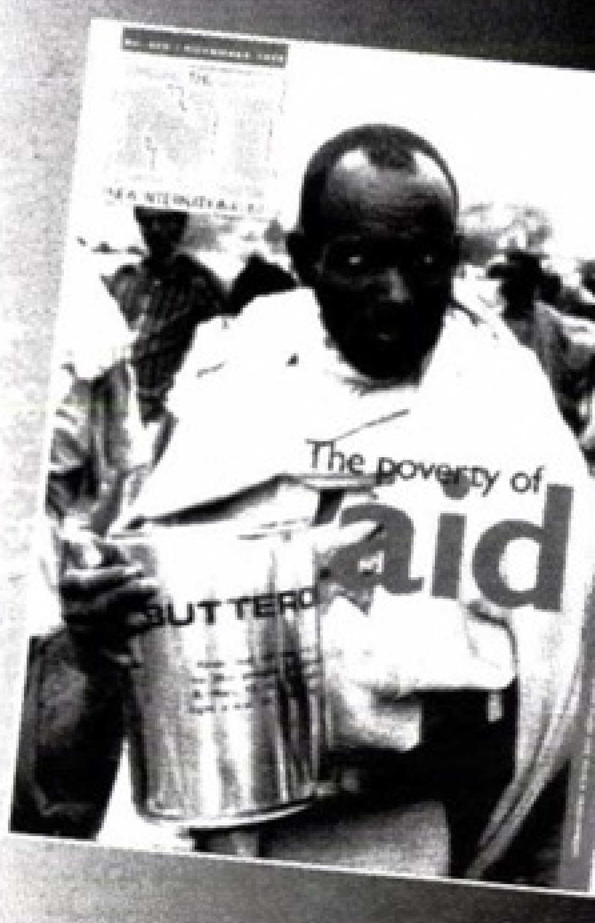

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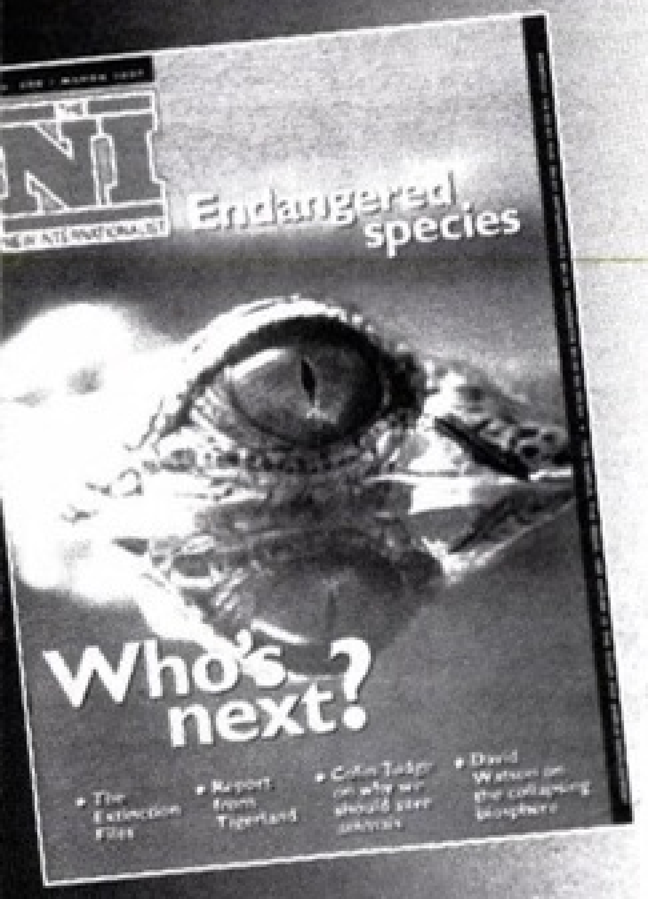

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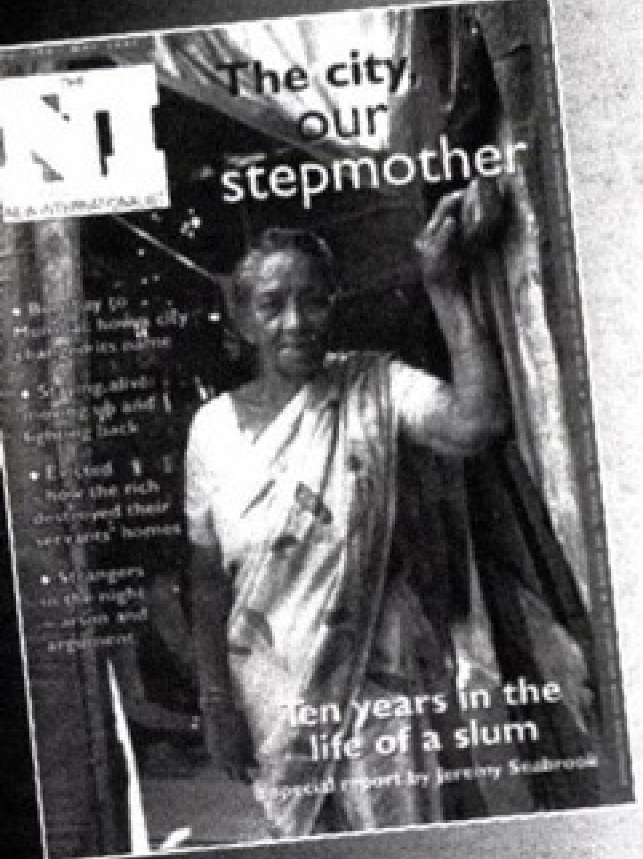

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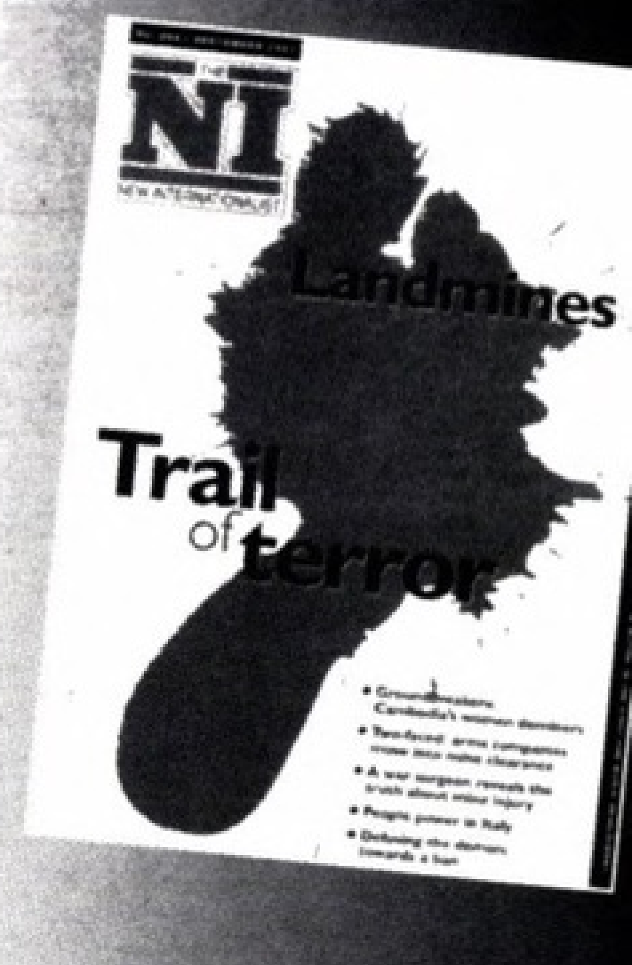

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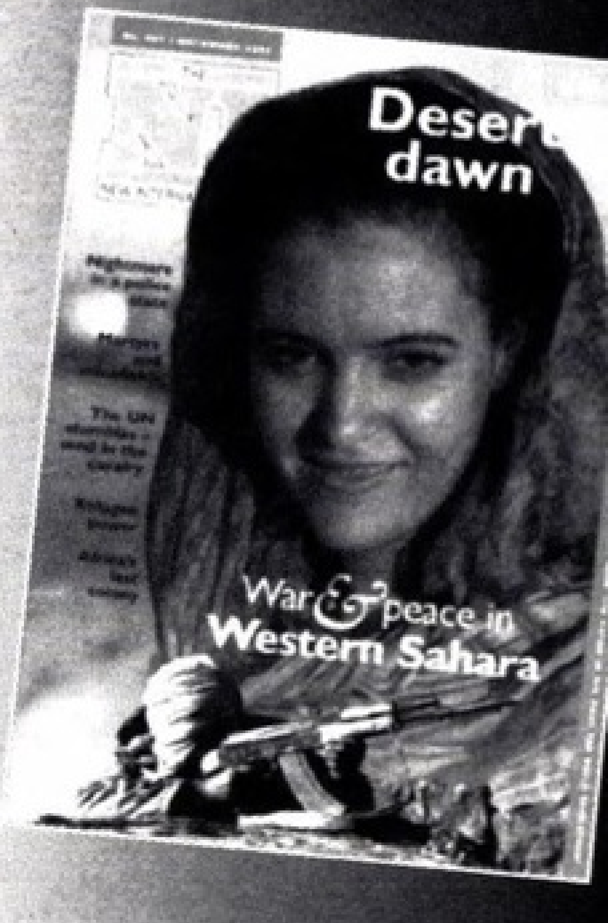

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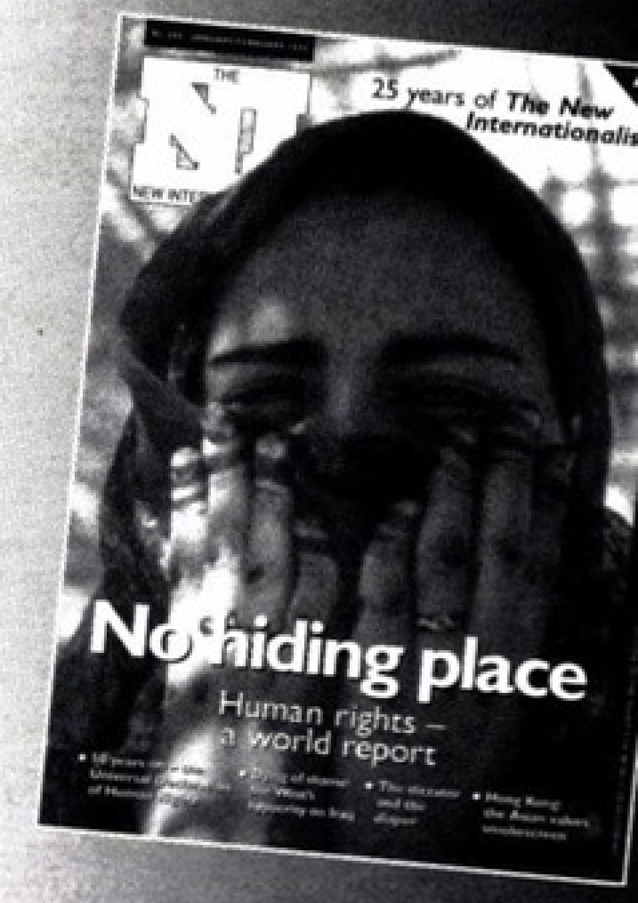
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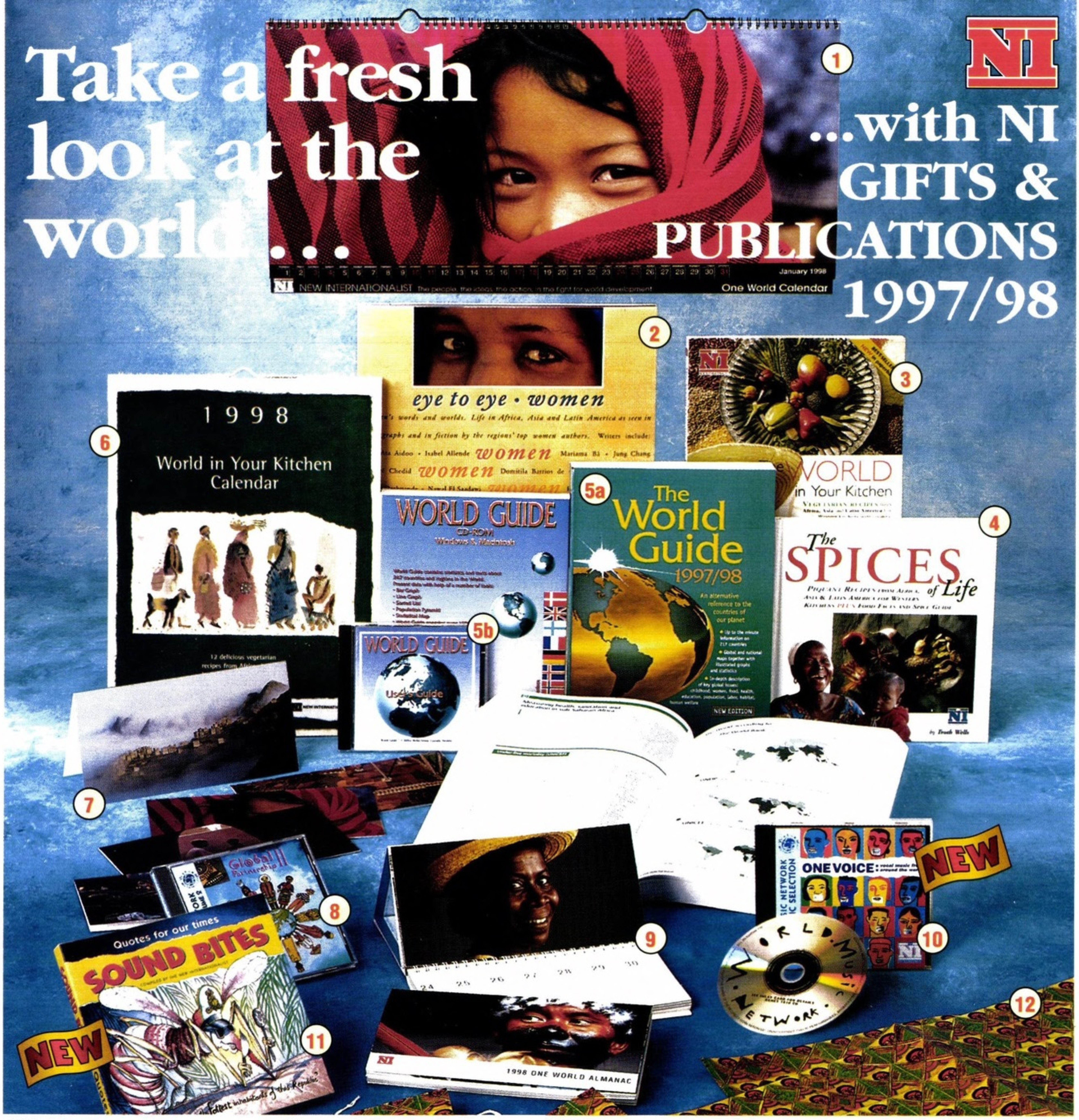

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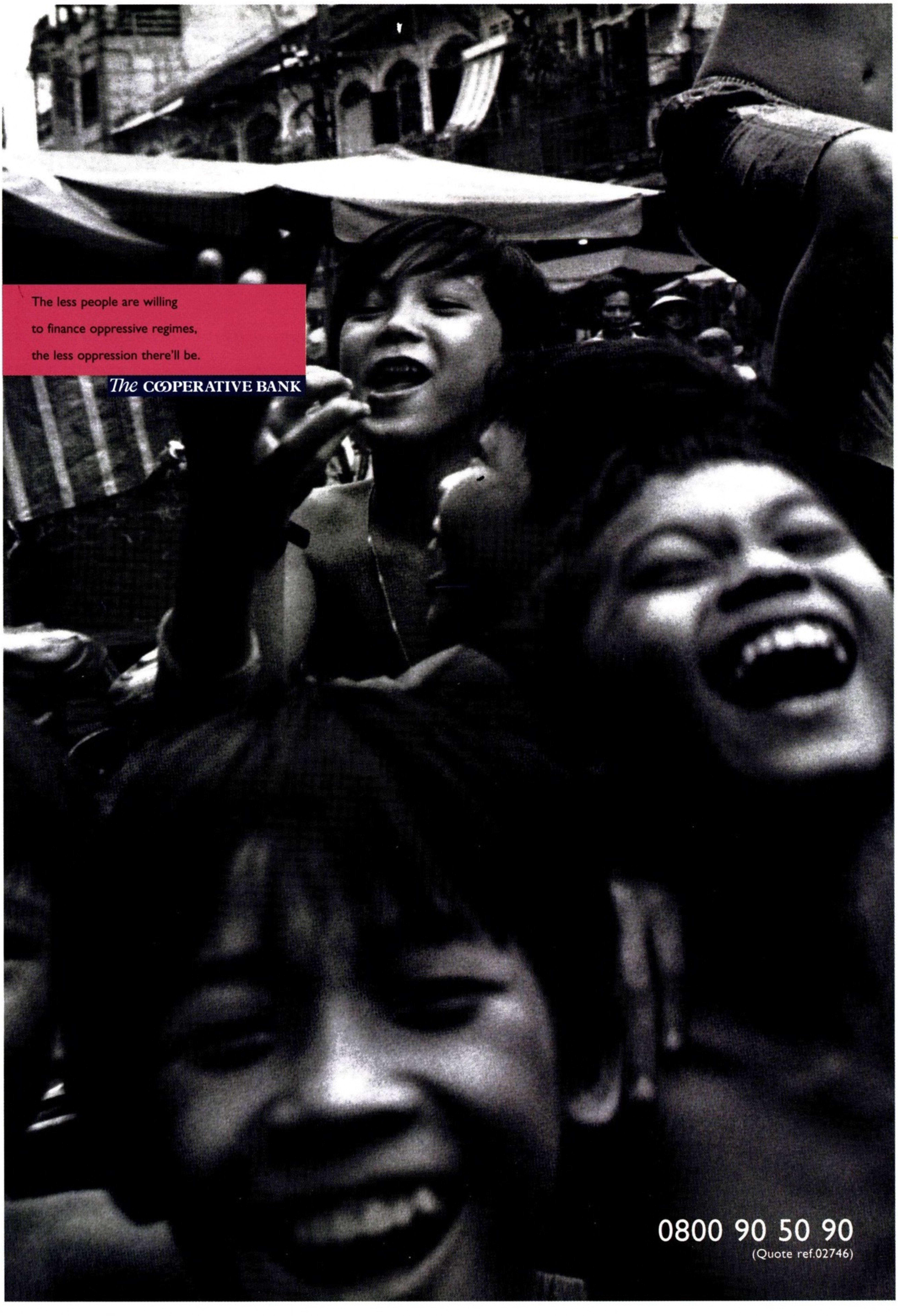
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On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the full text of which appears on this wallchart. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicise the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories."

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The world is a very different place than it was 50 years ago, but the words of the Declaration still ring true.
Let us on the occasion of the anniversary restate our commitment, as individuals, communities and governments, to the principles by which we would like to shape our world over the next 50 years.

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preamble

whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. *whereas* disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of humankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people. *whereas* it is essential, if human beings are not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law. *whereas* it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations. *whereas* the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. *whereas* Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for an observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. *whereas* a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge.

This poster is published by the New Internationalist magazine which provides a unique perspective on issues of world development, social justice and the environment. Each month the magazine focuses on a different theme, such as Green Economics or Women; Aid or The Arms Trade. Sample on http://www.newint.org/ ISBN 1 869847-54-7

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References to man have been changed to include women. Printed on paper made from renewable resources.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Now, Therefore, **THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY** *proclaims*

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS A COMMON STANDARD OF ACHIEVEMENT FOR ALL PEOPLES AND ALL NATIONS, TO THE END THAT EVERY INDIVIDUAL AND EVERY ORGAN OF SOCIETY, KEEPING THIS DECLARATION CONSTANTLY IN MIND, SHALL STRIVE BY TEACHING AND EDUCATION TO PROMOTE RESPECT FOR THESE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS AND BY PROGRESSIVE MEASURES, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL, TO SECURE THEIR UNIVERSAL AND EFFECTIVE RECOGNITION AND OBSERVANCE, BOTH AMONG THE PEOPLES OF MEMBER STATES THEMSELVES AND AMONG THE PEOPLES OF TERRITORIES UNDER THEIR JURISDICTION.

ALL HUMAN BEINGS ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL IN DIGNITY AND RIGHTS. THEY ARE ENDOWED WITH REASON AND CONSCIENCE AND SHOULD ACT TOWARDS ONE ANOTHER IN A SPIRIT OF BROTHERHOOD. ARTICLE 1

ARTICLE 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.
Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO LIFE, LIBERTY AND SECURITY OF PERSON

ARTICLE 3

ARTICLE 4. NO ONE SHALL BE HELD IN SLAVERY OR SERVITUDE; SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE SHALL BE PROHIBITED IN ALL THEIR FORMS.

Article 5.

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

ARTICLE 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 7 ALL ARE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW AND ARE ENTITLED WITHOUT ANY DISCRIMINATION TO EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAW. ALL ARE ENTITLED TO EQUAL PROTECTION AGAINST ANY DISCRIMINATION IN VIOLATION OF THIS DECLARATION AND AGAINST ANY INCITEMENT TO SUCH DISCRIMINATION.

Article 8.

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted them by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

ARTICLE 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a *Fair and Public Hearing* by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of their rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against them.

ARTICLE ELEVEN (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to the law in a public trial at which they have had all the guarantees necessary for their defence. (2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at a time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed

ARTICLE 12.

NO ONE SHALL BE SUBJECTED TO ARBITRARY INTERFERENCE WITH THEIR PRIVACY FAMILY HOME OR CORRESPONDENCE NOR TO ATTACKS UPON THEIR HONOUR AND REPUTATION

EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO THE PROTECTION OF THE LAW AGAINST SUCH INTERFERENCE OR ATTACKS.

Article 13.

1. Everyone has the right to *freedom of movement* and residence within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the *right to leave any country,* including their own, and to return to their country.

ARTICLE 14

① *Everyone* has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from prosecution.

② This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecution genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15. 1. EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO A NATIONALITY. 2. NO ONE SHALL BE ARBITRARILY DEPRIVED OF THEIR NATIONALITY NOR DENIED THE RIGHT TO CHANGE THEIR NATIONALITY.

Article 16.

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

ARTICLE 17. (1) EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO OWN PROPERTY ALONE AS WELL AS IN ASSOCIATION WITH OTHERS. (2) NO ONE SHALL BE ARBITRARILY DEPRIVED OF THEIR PROPERTY

EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE AND RELIGION; THIS RIGHT INCLUDES FREEDOM TO CHANGE THEIR RELIGION OR BELIEF, AND FREEDOM, EITHER ALONE OR IN COMMUNITY WITH OTHERS AND IN PUBLIC OR IN PRIVATE, TO MANIFEST THEIR RELIGION OR BELIEF IN TEACHING, PRACTICE, WORSHIP AND OBSERVANCE. ARTICLE 18

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinions and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

ARTICLE 21

(1) EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO TAKE PART IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THEIR COUNTRY, DIRECTLY OR THROUGH FREELY CHOSEN REPRESENTATIVES.
(2) EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO EQUAL ACCESS TO PUBLIC SERVICE IN THEIR COUNTRY.

(3) THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE SHALL BE THE BASIS OF THE AUTHORITY OF GOVERNMENT; THIS WILL SHALL BE EXPRESSED IN PERIODIC AND GENUINE ELECTIONS WHICH SHALL BE UNIVERSAL AND EQUAL SUFFRAGE AND SHALL BE HELD BY SECRET VOTE OR BY EQUIVALENT FREE VOTING PROCEDURES.

ARTICLE 22.
EVERYONE, AS A MEMBER OF SOCIETY, HAS THE RIGHT TO SOCIAL SECURITY AND IS ENTITLED TO REALIZATION, THROUGH NATIONAL EFFORT AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES OF EACH STATE, OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS INDISPENSABLE FOR THEIR DIGNITY AND THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR PERSONALITY.

Article 23

(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for themselves and their family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of their interests.

ARTICLE 24. EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO REST AND LEISURE, INCLUDING REASONABLE LIMITATION OF WORKING HOURS AND PERIODIC HOLIDAYS WITH PAY.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of themselves and their family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond their control. (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

ARTICLE 26.

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27.

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which they are the author.

ARTICLE 28. EVERYONE IS ENTITLED TO A SOCIAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORDER IN WHICH THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS SET FORTH IN THIS DECLARATION CAN BE FULLY REALIZED.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of their personality is possible.
(2) In the exercise of their rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.